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On the cover: Photograph of W.W. Newell courtesy of Harvard University Archives.

FROM THE EDITOR...

Thinking that the twentieth anniversary of an organization, in this case the Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society, and its journal, *Children's Folklore Review*, ought not to pass without some sort of special observation, we—the membership of CFS, myself as Editor, and Laurie Evans, *CFR*'s Associate Editor—thought that a special issue of the journal was in order.

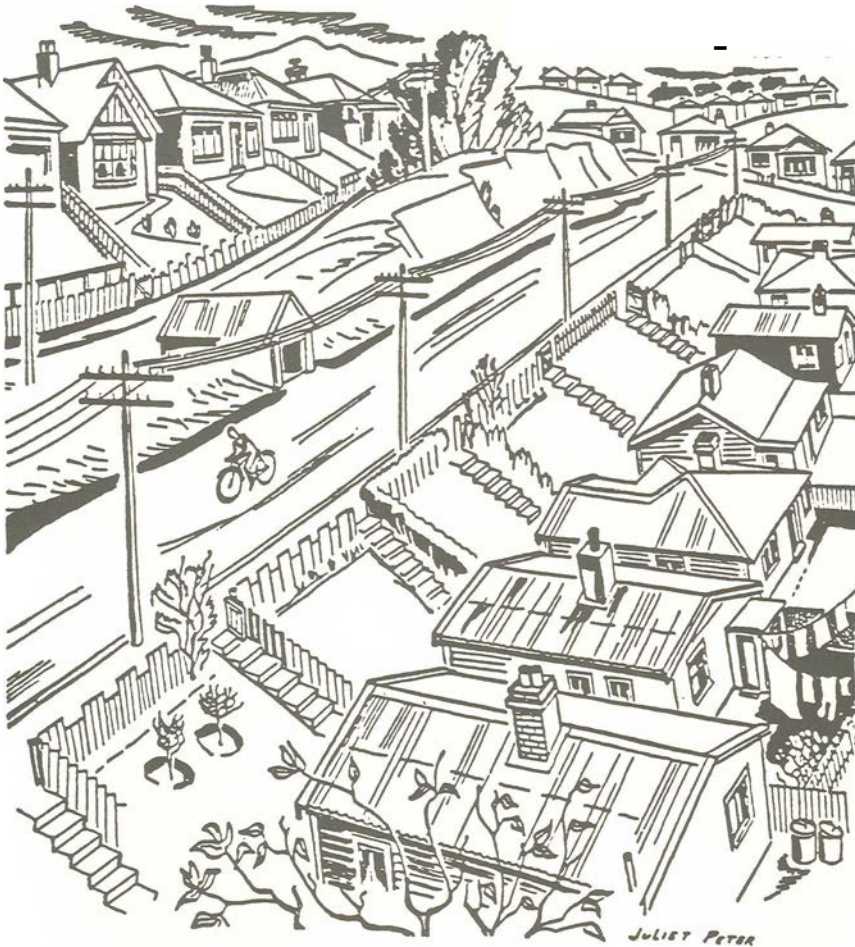
You have already noticed that this issue is physically different, larger (two volumes in one) and redesigned for this one-time-only publication. Some of the regular features are here. Erica Ruppert's "Folklore and Persistence in Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*" is the 1997 Newell Prize winner for the best student essay dealing with folk materials. The minutes of the 1997 meeting, with the announcements of the Aesop and Opie Prize winners, are also included. And the usual collection of notes and announcements concludes the volume.

Some of the articles herein were prepared especially for the twentieth anniversary issue. Brian Sutton-Smith's "New Zealand: The Playground as Frontier" and "England: The Playground as Museum" are the first two chapters of *A Play Biography*, an analytical autobiography of Sutton-Smith's career as a specialist in children's folklore. Simon Bronner's "History and Organization of Children's Folklore in the American Folklore Society" is a discussion of one of the most active sections of the American Folklore Society. In "Index to the *Children's Folklore Review*," 1997-1998 East Carolina University Graduate Assistant Kathryn S. Fladenmuller presents an annotated bibliography of articles which have appeared in the last twenty years. And my own "From *CFN* to *CFR*: The Editor's Perspective" chronicles the growth of *CFR* from a mimeographed newsletter to the only academic journal specializing in the study of children's folklore.

As always, our circulation could be expanded. Have your academic library subscribe to *CFR* (see subscription information on the inside back cover).

Happy Twentieth Anniversary CFS members and friends.

C.W. Sullivan III



Title page from Our Street by Brian Sutton-Smith, 1949.

A PLAY BIOGRAPHY

Brian Sutton-Smith

Chapter One

New Zealand: The Playground as Frontier

I began searching for the meaning of play and games in 1949, and this is the story of how I found it. But it didn't begin easily. When I first presented my official credentials to the Headmaster of my first school to be visited, in "Scottish" Dunedin, he said with Calvinistic fervor: "Chaps like you are a damned nuisance. The Education Department says we should assist you but you are really just wasting our time. No wonder we can't get anything done." Nevertheless, he allowed me into the classrooms to listen to the children and into the playgrounds to watch them play their games. I carried on this way for several years, ending up having information from about 50 schools, much of the time traveling free all over the country, up and down the mountains, due to the courtesy of school physical education specialists, and often sleeping overnight in their cars which were sometimes frosted over in the morning. The first time on the road lasted about six weeks and ended with a bout of shingles. Listening to informants all day long and sleeping in ice boxes is not great for one's health. Still, my visits to Teachers' Colleges, to old peoples' homes, to Early Settler Associations, and my advertisement of the project in newspapers, magazines and by radio brought about a thousand reports. I used these along with written biographical materials from the Alexander Turnbull Library to recover the history of children's play in New Zealand during its first hundred years from 1840 until 1950.

Looking back, I wonder why, having made up my mind to study the meaning of play and games, I plunged immediately into a school playground. Why study just children? Why not study animals or adults? Western culture, with its separation between supposedly rational adulthood and supposedly innocent childhood, is usually cited as the major reason for identifying play and childhood as the same thing. It is said that adults work but children play. And that play itself is to be perceived as relatively trivial, as the Dunedin Headmaster made clear.

In more immediate terms, my choice was dictated by something that had happened the prior year, 1948, when I became a

probationary teacher in standard three at Brooklyn school in Wellington. During the course of that year I noted that there was virtually no reading material which was written in the language that was used by my 30 or so students. Nor did the children like writing stories of their own. There were no examples of stories about their own kinds of lives and so they had no reason to believe that their kinds of lives could be written down and accepted by the teachers. Those were the days when my Headmaster at that school would caution the children in my class that they might speak another way in the playground, but they must speak good English in the classroom. Seeing that I was under his daily supervision, he was also inclined to mooch into my room whenever he felt like it. When this happened, all the children automatically had to rise to their feet and chant in unison, "Good morning, Mr. Naylor." And then they had to stand until he told them to sit down again. However, if he found that the work on a child's desk did not conform with the school-approved style of handwriting or content of writing, he would drag the child off by the ear to his study where he would order him to extend an arm in his direction, and he would then hit him with his leather strap on his hand along his extended arm. (It was always a him that got strapped.)

As it happened, the children in my classroom spoke and wrote in much the same way as I had myself as a child, most having an accent that had similarities to what the English, Irish and Scots had brought with them of their lower and middle class British accents in their nineteenth century emigrations to Australia, South Africa and New Zealand. These children did not speak as they were spoken to by the British writers of the contemporary children's literature. Most of that literature was about matters that described orthodox behavior and fantasies for middle and upper class children of the British Isles. It had also the moralizing character of the bulk of all writing for children.

My grandfather had been a saddlesmith in the small New Zealand town of Waikouaiti, Otago, and was known (in the 1890s) for telling local stories to children by the warm stove on wintry Sunday afternoons. His son, my father, was also a storyteller in our home (in the 1920s). We even had a ventriloquized character called "Billy" living permanently in our ceiling with whom he weaved amusing conversations for us. And occasion-

ally we saw him on the stage in the end of year annual school concert, in which he and the Headmaster and another school teacher put on some foolish skit to the great amusement of the children. My father was chairman of the school committee as well as, on stage, the butterfly hunter always catching other people's heads in his net. My rebellious, four year older brother would retell my father's narratives and theatrics as stories to me later at night in our bedroom, usually adding some kind of nonsensical or coarse twist to them. Given this background, it was not surprising that coming up against the story-writing situation in my first classroom, I set out to write stories about the boys of my own childhood. I hoped that this might speed up the writing by my own school class about themselves. My immediate stimulus was a book about a Maori boy called Wiremu, by author Stella Morris. It was about the quite ordinary doings in which the character and his uncle lived in a run-down hut and papered the walls with newspapers. My children were excited about this kind of reachable ordinariness that they could empathize with. As I had grown up in a nearby part of Wellington and had a common background with these school children, I thought that I also could easily achieve such ordinariness of everyday child life in writing for them. So I began writing stories about the four children that lived on the street in which I grew up. Which meant in fact that I was writing about the ordinary play and misdemeanors of four boys, sitting in the sun discussing their choices for play, or playing rugby and cricket in the street, hitting balls through windows and sneaking into the flicks (movies) for free, being carelessly destructive at birthday parties, digging to make underground forts and coming up with dog bones. Running through people's back yards in the dark at nighttime and quarreling and even fighting with each other. I did not try to go beyond just what I could remember as fact or as legend amongst our particular group. When I first began, I had no higher purpose than to encourage their writing. Illustrations and partial contents of the first chapter of the version first printed in the School Journal of July 1949 follow.

Once upon a time there was a middle-sized boy named Brian, and he was called Brian. Now this is something quite unusual, because most boys are not called by their own name at all. Sometimes they are called 'Snowy,' and sometimes they are called 'Stinker,'

but they are hardly ever called what they really are. So Brian was a rather unusual sort of boy.

He had an elder brother named Vaughan, which is a hard name, and so he was called 'Smitty,' because his last name was Smith.

Next door to Brian and Smitty lived 'Gormie.' Gormie had a lot of brothers and sisters, and they all lived together in a big house which looked as though it had never been painted. Some of the windows on one side were boarded up where they had been broken by Gormie's elder brothers who had played cricket there a long time ago. Not that Brian or Smitty or Gormie had ever seen them playing cricket. But sometimes when they were playing cricket up against Mrs. Roderick's fence at the end of the street, one of Gormie's elder brothers would go by and say something like, "That's a good googly bowl"; so it seemed as if he must know a lot about cricket to be able to say a thing like that.

After that, Gormie, or whoever else was bowling at the time, would be the googly bowler until next week when he would want to be Bradman, and then Brian could be the googly bowler. Most of the bowling was pretty 'googly' anyhow, because the street was all rough and lumpy and gravelly.

At the back of Gormie's place was a rough old yard all overgrown with grass and full of bits of old roofing iron. There were pieces of wood here and there, and a few trees on the back bank. It was dangerous for Brian or Smitty or Gormie to walk off the clear pieces of hard mud because they might cut their foot on a piece of glass. . .



In the holidays and on Saturday mornings, after the messages were done, some of the boys from down the street would come and sit on Gormie's front porch and argue about what to do in the afternoon. The morning sun came up across the opposite hill and always shone right into Gormie's front porch. It was good and hot, and Gormie and Smitty and Brian would just sit against the wall with the backs of their legs pressed hard against the warm wooden planks. These three were always there on Saturday mornings, and sometimes there were others there too.

There would be 'Horsey' who was called that because he wore glasses and could never agree about the score or the rules in cricket or football. He was very stubborn, and would never change his mind once he had made it up. Smitty reckoned that he had blinkers on like a horse, and that's why he could never see what had happened and was always arguing.

Well, Brian and Smitty and Gormie and Horsey would all sit on Gormie's front porch on a Saturday morning 'bagzing'.

"I bagz we go to the zoo," Horsey would say.

"Aw, no. I bagz we go to the pictures," Gormie would say.

He always made this bagz because he always had plenty of money. Whenever he was short, he would just go and ask each of his brothers and sisters for something and soon he would have several shillings. But Brian and Smitty, though they would like to have gone to the pictures, didn't make this bagz because it meant they would have to ask their Dad for the money, and he would probably say, "No." Their Dad said they should play out in the fresh air all day, but they usually grew tired of the fresh air by the afternoon.

"I bagz we go to the football," said Smitty.

"Aw, no," said Gormie.

"Why not?" asked Brian.

"Because," said Gormie.

"Because what?" asked Smitty.

"Because I bagz we go to the pictures."

"I bagz we don't," said Brian.

"I bagz the zoo," said Horsey.

"I don't bagz the zoo," said Smitty.



Then nobody said anything for a long time, and the sun poured down and it was hot and lazy. Trams went backwards and forwards a few streets away, sounding sort of dull in the dazzling sun. It was very bright and, though they didn't feel sleepy, they didn't feel they could move from the hot sun pouring onto their bare arms and legs. Gormie was chipping bits of hard dirt and dust from out between the porch boards with a bit of stick. Smitty and Horsey were just sitting, and Brian had his fingernail under a paint blister and was slowly picking it out. The edge of the dry paint was hard under his nail and it hurt now and again if he pushed his finger too hard. He had picked about six inches of paint off the porch wall in the last three weeks. The porch was the only part of the house wall which looked as if it had been painted at all, and Brian was slowly making the porch look like the rest of the house. If he sat there for enough Saturday mornings there would be no paint left. But he didn't think of that. He just thought of the nice sharp feeling under his middle-finger nail.

"I bagz we go to the zoo," said Horsey again.

Nobody else said anything. The sun went on streaming down, and the grasshoppers sang in the grass; a dog barked somewhere, and another tram went by several streets away. By this time Gormie had

cleaned out all the hard dirt between the two planks from the wall to the footpath and was now working his way up between the next two planks back to the wall again. His piece of stick was flinging little hard long pieces of dirt all over the shining warm boards.

"I'm going home, and I'm going to the zoo this afternoon," said Horsey, and he shut the gate, climbed over it, and went slowly down the path to his place.

By this time Gormie had reached the wall again. He had pushed out all the dirt between the next two planks, and now he got up and walked inside. Brian and Smitty sat in the sun a little bit longer, till Brian had picked all the paint he could from the edges of the paint blister.

And that afternoon Horsey went to the zoo, Gormie went to the pictures, and Brian and Smitty went to the football.

(To be continued)



The result of my stories was that my children began to do more of their own essay writing. The technique I used was reported in the *American Journal, Elementary English*, in January of 1953. A second effect was that a liberal-minded colleague, Ray Chapman Taylor, of the School Publications branch of the central Education Department, thought these stories would also be suitable for publishing in the school journals. These were distributed monthly as reading material to the elementary schools throughout New Zealand, and my stories appeared there the following year, 1949. The third and most important effect of this story writing, and its relevance here, was that in 1948, when I wrote these stories, I began to think more extensively about my own childhood past. As any writer knows, writing about childhood itself stimulates more and more memories and considerations of what it was actually like in your own childhood. One day when I was in the playground, having my turn at supervising the children's playtime (the lucky teachers stayed in the staff room and had a cup of tea), I had the sudden shock of realizing

that I did not understand the reason for the playground play of the children I was supervising. It was not that I was not familiar with the games that were there, because I had played most of them myself as a child some twelve years earlier. But I now realized that that play had never been properly explained in any literature that I had read. I remember my first shock when watching seven-year-old girls playing a game called *Tip the Finger*, in which all the players gather in a half circle at the back of another player, and one of them, with outstretched finger, traces a pattern on the central player's back, chanting: "North, South, East, West, Draw a snake down your back, Who tipped your finger?" The central player turns about rapidly, trying to see who has done it, and the others all cry out, "Who tipped your finger?" The central player has then to nominate the guilty player. "What does she have to do?" they all cry out again. "Run twice round the school," the central player responds. And if she has chosen the wrong player, they all cry, "Do it yourself." But if she has chosen the right player, that player is required to take the made-up penalty. When the penalized player returns, she chases after the others, and the one first tagged becomes the next central player to have her finger tipped.

Now what on earth does this mean? If this is play, what is it, I said to myself? When I began my own collections of games and play, I did not yet know well any of the proposed "explanations." Like prior explorers I was simply fascinated by this playground "ship of fools." What one first sees in a playground of children, for example, is a different and chaotic culture not easily understood nor tolerated by outsiders. There is a noisy cacophony of groups and individuals moving at high speed about the playground chasing, screaming, pursuing each other, or, hitting, catching, kicking balls or wrestling and punching each other. There may even be play with marbles, tops, hoops, kites, ropes, knucklebones (jacks), with hopscotch diagrams or dolls. And there are groups that wander around just watching or talking to each other. Others move in rhythm within circles and while dancing the Luby loo, or the Baloo baloo balight, or singing with poignancy about people who get married, or who weep, or who die. My favorite song and dance was:

Green gravels, green gravels
The grass is so green,

The fairest young lady
That ever was seen.

Dear Mary, dear Mary,
Your true love is dead
We send you a letter
To turn round your head.

There were the dialogue dramas:

Oh Mummy there's a ghost in the garden
It's only my pink pants on the line. Go and wash your hands.
Oh, its got fur on it.
Come with me and I'll go and see. What are you doing in my
garden?
Picking up sticks, to boil a pot, to boil a stone, to sharpen a knife.
What do you want a knife for?
To cut off your head.

There were endless rhymes with actions:

Mother, may I go out to swim
Yes, my darling daughter
Hang your clothes on a gooseberry bush
And don't go near the water

or:

Hip, hip, hooray
For the Queen's birthday
If you don't give us a holiday
We'll all run away.

or:

Nay navy nick nack
Whit hand will yee tak
Take the right and take the wrong
And I'll beguile yee if I can

The question for me was what of all of this should attract my attention.
What should I focus on? Would I be like an anthropologist in a pith helmet,
arriving to study his primitive culture,

his noble savages? Or was my job to act naively like a camera and capture everything? Probably because this is the century of film realism and science, I supposed that I should include everything, and in fact I did continue collecting from schools until I felt that I was not discovering any new games or new forms of play. After two years, I arrived at a point of redundancy where I believed that I had captured most of the reality that lay before me. Still, in some ways the rest of my half-century of attempting to understand play has been a rejection of that first very naive realistic assumption that I was just a camera recording what was there.

The first shock came several years later when my Ph.D. thesis was returned for revision. Two elements had to be excluded. The first that had to go was the children's playground inane obscenities that I had collected long with everything else as I had proceeded. The department chairman said that they were unallowable in the thesis because it would get into the libraries and might be read by members of the publicly-elected Education Boards who forthwith might prevent any further research in schools by University students. His attitude implied, at least, that the playground was not quite an innocuous place, and that my recording was not quite an innocent activity.

On the other hand, if direct observation of the playground could be a danger, so could some interpretations. My advisor also suggested that I had given too much space to Freudian interpretations. That is, in my interpretations I had elaborated on how I thought a number of psychoanalysts and Jungians might have interpreted this playground material. For example, since I had heard about the Freudian notion of the castration complex in one of my early psychology courses, I thought immediately of the wonderful illustrative trick we played as kids called, "Look, my father cut my finger off." You got an old cigarette tin, hammered a hole in the back of it with a nail, put some cotton inside it, tied a piece of thread tightly around the base of a middle finger, tintured it with iodine, and covered the cotton with red ink, and then pushed the finger up through the hole in the tin so that it lay swollen and injured-looking on the cotton. Now coming up suddenly to another unsuspecting child, you said secretively, "Want to see what I've got?" Then you suddenly pulled up the lid and made the above castration announcement, "My father cut my finger off," to the horror of the observer. The advisor warned me to put this distasteful kind of

stuff in the appendix.

From these two examples it follows that I could not be proceeding quite as naively as I had hoped to my understanding of the playground. As it happened, my own preferred priorities for interpretation began to emerge from my own past experiences in the playground, and from what was apparent in the behavior of the boys in *Our Street*, and from what I believed I saw before me in my current study. When not traveling and collecting, I spent the greater part of two years in observing the playground at Island Bay school in Wellington which I had attended as a child myself from 1929 to 1937, and now I returned in 1949-50. I came every mid-morning playtime (10:30-10:45 a.m.) and many lunch hours (12-1 p.m.) and sometimes for the 2:00-2:10 afternoon break. When one does repeated observations and gets to know the children, then the playground contents are no longer simply the pen and paper nostalgic adult recollections of the kind that characterize most of the collections of children's play, games, and folklore over the past century. It seems that those adult reminiscences largely have the effect of reinforcing the nostalgia of their readers and reassuring them that the good old days were much more interesting than they are now.

Once in the playground, what forced itself on my attention was that it was a place which mostly ran itself. It was a semiautonomous society which could not be understood without paying attention to how the children organized the play and their own power relationships. My major focus came to be on child social play as a domain of child power relationships. Most probably I was biased to seeing play this way because I had just written the same way about the children in *Our Street* which was itself about a gang of boys constantly playing rough games. I was the youngest and if I wanted to be included, I had to play these games even if I got hurt more often than the others did. It was hard to play shinty (hockey) in the street with bent curtain rods for sticks and a cigarette tin for a puck without getting one's ankles and fingers skinned. Or you could be hit by a piece of flying gravel near the puck. Yet I always wanted to be there. This was the place where the action was. I came to conclude that children want more than anything else to be with other children doing whatever provides the action they all enjoy. That's where the fun is.

It now seemed to me in turn that the playground I was

observing was something like a frontier society controlled from a distance by a lurking Sheriff /Teacher or two. This is a place of intense and generally enjoyable social action where children develop their own real communities. Some become leaders, some become followers, some are included, some are excluded. The existence of groups on animal or human levels depends on the ongoing solution of these problems of your place in the lineup, or as they call it, the problem of hierarchy. Children cannot invent group play life without solving this problem of leadership and co-operation as they proceed. In consequence, the playground for most of the time is a vivid and energetic place for children, but it is also at times a tough and lonely place where sometimes bullies reign and sometimes children are seriously scapegoated.

I remember in the year 1931 as a new seven-year-old graduate from the primers (ages 5-6) to the primary school (ages 7-12), there were two harsh events that forever marked my understanding of the playground. The first occasion was falling into a fight with another member of my class who was larger than I was and who attempted to boss me around. I had learned about boxing from my older brother and we possessed boxing gloves at home, which were a gift from an uncle who had had some adult boxing experience. I would not give way to the other boy's attempts to make me quit the territory of the playshed and this led to a fist-fight that seemed to go on forever. My older brother, who had coached my boxing, stood by and watched me, but much to my amazement, gave me no help whatsoever. The boy and I both pummeled each other's faces until the school bell rang for the end of the lunch hour. Although I could hardly breathe through my much-battered face, I had the satisfaction of seeing that he was bleeding freely through his. What I learned from this was how dreadful it is to get involved in such face-to-face confrontation. He and I never came near each other again throughout the rest of our elementary school careers. Neither did I ever have to fight anyone there in the playground again. My reputation was established. When I went to Wellington College (high school) later, I discovered a repeat of the same principle. You were bullied by older boys until they had seen you performing in the boxing ring, after which they left you strictly alone.

The other playground event that first year that marked my

soul forever was seeing an unpopular boy of the sixth standard being mobbed by other boys from his class. He was the son of the local draper and was being labeled a sissy by those who pursued him. They had him pressing himself back against a six-foot high school fence, and punching at anyone who came near him. Snarling, sobbing and cursing, he was a rewarding attraction. Boys from the crowd would intermittently dart forward in an attempt to hit him with their fists while he punched back. In the meantime, other boys behind the fence jumped up, leaning over to hit him with their trouser belts. All of this was accompanied by a great booing of the hundred or so children thus gathered. It was an elementary and dismaying holocaust. After some time, a teacher arrived and the crowd disappeared with great rapidity.

These very negative examples serve to drive home the view that children left to themselves form their own culture. In general, this is a culture that has the outward orderly appearance of the games that are named earlier. When there is some supervision, this is generally a non-violent, non-Lord of the Flies culture; but that does not mean that it is not also an extremely "real" social world within which children live at this time and which they personally construct and maintain with great determination and vigor. In addition, the play culture which they hand on to each other is largely in their heads, and not in the books that are written about them, although we now know that ideas for it can also enter from external sources. For example, today's USA girls playing jump rope sometimes adopt McDonald's commercial's jump rope rhymes because these are ones with which children coming from different districts are all familiar (Beresin 1993). One who wants to know about children's group play has to realize that it arises in a context which is not always playful, not always joyous, not always easy. And that it is not always simple to interpret when the play has broken down and there is war (as in the above two unhappy examples); or when it is neither war nor play, as when children do risky and hurtful and difficult things because they so much wish to be members of the playgroup or to show off to that group. Or because it is better to be in play than to be in a classroom. Those who wish to blind their eyes to this social nature of childhood might wish to claim that if it is not joyful, it is not play. This will be an issue that crops up again and again as my search for the meaning of play proceeds.

I began to believe that over time children had inherited, invented, or at least maintained a culture of group games. That is, their culture did not only involve managing each other, it also involved managing game forms which are, as it were, the institutions of that culture. Just as in adult culture we have politicians and policemen to run our society, and have institutions through which we maintain it—families, churches, schools, businesses, etc.—so leaders emerge for children, and for the institutions which are the substance of their invented play sphere such as group games, jokes, pranks, rhymes, riddles, stories and legends. It is difficult to separate children's social play from this kind of institutional functioning which was always there in human history, but which much of the time has more to do with constructing a culture than with what we might like to think of abstractly as play. Some of the "institutional" power forms that I discerned in my New Zealand sample of children were as follows.

At the earliest preschool age levels the organization of play is maintained by everyone doing the same thing at the same time. That is, by doing actions in unison. This is the most elementary way to manage power by all sharing it at the same time. Most frequently this happens when children run around imitating what anyone else is doing that looks exciting, as in running and chasing. But there are traditional games that are also organized this way and include singing or chanting or hand-clapping, and the 5-7 year olds are usually taught these by the 7-9 year olds. The example that first came as a revelation to me was *Ring around the roses*. In this game all the children hold hands, and move around in a circle chanting the rhyme:

A ring around the roses,
Pop down the posies
A tishoo, a tishoo,
We all fall down.

At which moment they all part hands and fall on the ground with laughter and shouting. Watching four-year olds playing this game, I was struck with how hard it was for them to keep holding their hands together and not fall down too early. For them to maintain the order of the words and the movements, prior to the climax of disorder when they fell all over the place,

was extremely difficult. Anyone who has worked with four-year-olds knows how difficult it is to maintain order with them. It is a critical social problem in early childhood. But this game is, in its way, a mockery of the endeavor to be orderly carried out by the children themselves. Here the institution of order or unison behavior is satirized by the very young with incredible delight, yelling and laughing at the end. Most typically the four-year-olds do not manage these games just by themselves. There is usually some older child who shows them how to play it. What happens with development in playground games is that such a central outside person is made into a feature role player inside the games. I think my most striking finding in all of this work was that the majority of playground games played by these children up to the age of eleven years are *central person games*. The game invests one player with power over the others. There are several kinds.

a.) Sometimes the central player has a *cynosural or limelight role* in relation to the other players, in which case the games generally have few competitive features—their movements being prescribed beforehand by song and ritual—as when the group dances round in a circle singing about the central person "Sally who is a-weeping" or "the Pretty little girl of mine" or "Punchinello the funny fellow." The central player is the one who is in the limelight and who is given the power by the game to choose who will be the next player in the center, or who will join her in the center as in Farmer in the Dell, where the farmer picks a wife, and then the wife picks a child, the child picks a dog, who picks a cat, who picks a mouse, who picks a cheese, which is then symbolically pecked at by all the players in the center. It is a premonitory piece of playing which suggests that the central player can also be at great risk. Though in this case the picked-upon cheese becomes the next farmer for another round of play. The last becomes the first.

b.) Sometimes the central player is a dominating adult-like figure and controls the competition as well as evaluates the outcomes. We might call these *judgment games* or leader games. There were multiple kinds such as in statues, steps and stairs; mother may I, colors, letters, giant steps, creeping up, johnny in the inkpot and busy bees. The leader stands out in front of the others who are lined up and decides what moves they are allowed to take, a social arrangement not unlike that of modern

gymnastics or beauty pageants, where the skill outcome is determined by a judge's decision rather than only by the skill of the players. The other girls typically try to creep up to the leader when her back is turned, and take her place. The girls usually liked to play these games up against a wall, or up and down the steps. The earlier mentioned Tip the Finger is also such a game and shows one of the ways in which the other players can sometimes trick the central player.

c.) Finally there is the central player who chases the others to tag or capture them. This is the famous *IT figure* who represents a fearsome or monster character. These are amongst the most exciting games of childhood and they take multiple forms as in simple tagging or the hurtful branding of the runaways with a wet tennis ball in ball tag. The multiplicity of types of organization around these chasing essentials probably exceeded all other games. To name just a few: cat and mouse, tag, French and English, puss in the corner, hide and seek, twilight tag, bar the door, King Caesar, twos and threes, circle tig, red rover, hares and hounds, punch king, shadow tig, bull in the ring and prisoner's base.

d.) It is not hard to believe that the central importance of such central person games in childhood is because in some way they are a mirror of children's power relationships with the adult authorities of parents and teachers in their own social world. One notes, however, that they are often as much a mockery as they are a mimicry of the roles of adult power. The types of attacking *central person games* played by older children makes this intent even more obvious. These are games in which the opposition between the central player and the others is an open form of conflict, as in dodge ball, king of the hill, sacks on the mill, punch king, etc., in all of which one player must contest against all others. Now the non-central players have moved from a game-established position of defense to one of attack.

e.) In late childhood *scapegoating forms* of central player games emerge in which the central player is deluded into thinking he or she is a central player, but then is tricked by the others and turned into a "fool." Here the mighty have fallen. Tempted to think that they are the Queen of Sheba, the unwary find themselves falling through the throne into a bucket of water. Gullibility can be costly for a child. The games tell you to be more perspicacious.

We have here over these age levels (5-15 years) a shift from power conferred by the game, to power that must be won by skill, to power that is an illusion, a remarkable developmental caricature of the rise and fall of kings. They are as well a set of game models that may mirror the rise and fall of the power relationships between children and their parents and teachers. It is fascinating to me that this child play culture has its own institutions for informing its citizens of the true nature of power, of its rewards and its dangers. The rise and fall of central games can be thought of as a partially hidden script on the nature of power in childhood. Adult attention is usually focused with more comfort on the childhood cultural scripts for skill games which flourish alongside these others, and show a series of transformations from parallel to individual to team play forms. We refer here to such games as marbles, tops, skipping (jump rope), hopscotch, four square, rounders, Johnny on the pony, and playfighting. These games have been more easily interfered with or displaced by adults in the name of sports-training.

My conclusion to this material is that because of my own recollections from childhood and *Our Street*, and my observations in the playground, I have been biased towards focusing on children's social play as a power domain. I have gone into the playground and have come out of it with accounts of games as childhood power institutions, and children's play in general as requiring the establishing of those hierarchical power relationships that make play possible. Clearly this is not all that is yet to be said about play in my lifelong peregrinations. But this is where I began.

In the meantime, as it were, back at the ranch, in July 1949 of the year in which I began my play and game collections, chapters from *Our Street* began to be published in the school journals suitable for reading by nine-year-olds. Within a month there was an outraged reaction by some local education boards and from some school Headmasters Associations of which the following is typical:

A protest against the type of literature the Education Department was putting before school children was made by the Taranaki Education Board today. Members criticized what they considered the poor grammar and construction of a story in the July number of

the School Journal, and the unusual use of slang. Miss V.I. Curtis, a former head mistress said: "I consider it to be a sordid and low standard of reading. The language is anything but the best, and the construction is what we are trying to teach the children to avoid." Miss Curtis then read extracts from the story to which she took exception, including the expressions "bagz," "footie," "flicks," and "sissie." She also criticized the illustrations. She said it must be difficult for teachers to raise the standard of culture in schools when such articles were placed before pupils. "And what," she asked, "would some of you parents feel if your children came home with that language?"

Mr. D. Ward said that children would learn slang soon enough without having it taught in schools. He found the slang becoming very common, and speaking generally, young women were just as bad. They place just as much emphasis on swearing. (*Dominion Newspaper*, August 18, 1949).

For the next several months such negative reactions and various defenses against them in newspapers continued as the subsequent chapters of *Our Street* appeared in the school journal. Finally questions were raised in Parliament about the suitability of such stories by several members, and the Minister of Education, Mr. McCombs replied:

The story "Our Street" published in the July School Journal has an authentic New Zealand background and the slang expressions are in keeping with the characters portrayed. On similar grounds exception could be taken to the publications in the journal of extracts from Dickens, Mark Twain, Marryat and other classic authors.

In part, this altercation reflected bad feelings between the elected Education Boards and the central governmental administration of education. Clearly the thesis apprehensions of my advisor Prof. C.L. Bailey, notable for his mastery of politics of education, were well founded. Having my materials in a University library might not have been scholarly defense enough against these warriors from the Education Boards. In part the reactions also represented an attack by the opposition conservative political party on the supposed moral slippage of the prevailing Labor

party in power. That that party lost power in the subsequent election, one would hardly think, had anything to do with:

Ink, pink, pen and ink
I smell a dirty stink
And it is
YOU.

More fundamentally the Boards' reactions were a tenacious defense of the traditional stereotypes of proper speech, proper literature, and proper behavior, and their unwillingness to consider that plebeian children might also merit a plebeian literature. Whatever the reason, after the third chapter the story was discontinued as a school publication. In the following year (1950), *Our Street* was independently published as a book, and in subsequent years I wrote two similar books for slightly older children: *Smitty Does a Bunk* (1961) and *The Cobbers* (1976). Almost thirty years later, *Our Street* was serialized in a children's weekly column in the "Evening Post," a Wellington Newspaper (June, July, August 1976), and in 1991 a chapter appeared in a Puffin New Zealand Children's Story Book, indicating at least some belated and harmless entrance into the canon of New Zealand children's literature.

Obviously my implicit assumption that I could provide my New Zealand children with a realistic literature about their lives was not a universally acceptable idea. According to my colleague, Dr. Kevin Sheehan, the analysis of classic British children's literature such as *The Water Babies*, *Alice*, *Wind in the Willows*, *Peter Pan* and *The Secret Garden* shows that such literature has always been a major means for the socialization of the children into acceptable adult ways of life in speech and behavior, or alternatively into a compensatory fantasy land. Children's literature is about what adults want children to think about themselves. It is not about who they might actually be. By contrast, the canonical American children's literature is less about colonizing childhood, and more about the pioneer children making their own way as in *Little Women*, *Tom Sawyer*, *Little House on the Prairie*, *Huckleberry Finn*, *The Wizard of Oz* and *The Catcher in the Rye*. As Sheehan sees it, American stories tend to be about individualized quests rather than about the British traditional adults' standards of achievement.

What I had done with my child-focused and rebellious sto-

ries was neither of these. It was not about adult hegemony or child-gnostic hegemony; it was about the post-colonial hegemony of children being themselves in their own society. But the point is that although that introduction had a "liberating" effect on my own interpretation of the children's playground, it was unlikely to have received any more public support than the book did, if those views of the playground as a field of social power had been anywhere but on the library shelf. The public would rather not think about their children in playgrounds in the power-oriented way I had represented them here. The paradox of course is that most parents know what those play worlds are like ("boys will be boys," etc.); it is just that they would rather not see that behavior as anything but an aberration on the way to more perfect development. They would not like to give childhood the merit of it being a hierarchical and oppositional child society. It may in fact be rough in the colonies, they might say, but that is not, therefore, an acceptable form of civilized adult life.

In sum, although out to discover the "real" nature of play in the playgrounds of New Zealand, looking back I now realize that I came to see it through my own spectacles as a kind of child frontier society where child power issues were a central concern.

Chapter Two

England: The Playground as a Museum

In New Zealand a trip to "the old country" was always something of an inevitable "rite of passage" for the intellectually aspiring. We seemed so far from the rest of the world in those days that not to go overseas was like having spent a whole life somewhere other than where the action was. I used to stand on the beach where I lived and know that I could look 9000 miles over the Pacific Ocean to Chile with nothing in between. My first effort, immediately after the war, was to try for a Rhodes scholarship. I was a finalist from my own University, there being two nominees from each of the four Universities of that time: Otago, Canterbury, Wellington and Auckland. We all met at the Governor's house for the interviews. The Governor, General, was an aging hero from World War I in which he swam across

the Dardanelles at Gallipoli in Turkey under enemy fire on a secret mission. For that he got the highest British military recognition, the Victoria Cross. There were two things that my brother and I wanted most of all when we were kids: either to be on the New Zealand rugby team or to get the Victoria Cross in wartime. That was our total metaphysic.

In the formal interview, Governor Freyburg's strange and only question to me was, "When you were in the army, how did you find living in a tent with other men?" I hesitated in my answer. I had never been in a tent in my few months in the territorial army in 1944. We lived in huts, both at the basic training camp at Eketahuna and in my brief period on Wellington's one and only anti-aircraft gun on the Kelburn hill. The only time I had ever lived in a tent was when as a boy of ten years my parents sent me off to a YMCA camp in the mountains near Otaki where we all lived in tents, and where it rained and raged with lightning much of the time and where the nightly contest was to put enough broken and spilted wattle seeds around each other's tents that the smell was so bad it drove us out into the rain. Further, because of my relative competence at boxing, I was required by the camp leader to go into the boxing ring with one of the boys from another tent who was being accused (I now suppose) of some minor sodomy and to teach him how to be a man on the end of the boxing glove. After a few connecting straight lefts, I knew he couldn't fight back, so I reluctantly slapped at him with my gloves for the one round that was required. At that young age I could not formulate the intense misgivings about authority that this event occasioned in me. But it was a kind of scar and I really wasn't up to telling the General my views on tent life.

After failing that question, I succeeded in getting several New Zealand University scholarships, which took me through the Masters and Ph.D. programs. The title of my thesis was *The historical and psychological significance of the unorganized games of New Zealand primary school children* (1954). It is important to note that the thesis had these two sides, the historical and the psychological, because that forced me into an interdisciplinary way of looking at the reality of play forever afterwards. My first option was to go to the British Isles and repeat the kind of Ph.D. study I had done in New Zealand; that is, a historical study of the changes in British children's playground games throughout this

century. My second option was to go to the USA and do more work on the psychological study of games. But at this point these were unfunded fantasies, and so after two years of doing the thesis and more years waiting for its evaluation both in New Zealand and by an external examiner, D.E.M. Gardiner, Head of the Department of Child Development at the University of London, I took a slow boat to China, which is to say, London. Which is to say a sea trip of five weeks in the bowels of the boat from Wellington, via Pitcairn island, the Panama Canal and Curacao. The weather throughout was generally miserable, but I managed to remain somewhat less in disequilibrium by playing vertiginous deck tennis every day during the whole voyage.

The idea of studying the history of play in England had its problems. Although my search for play in social terms had yielded me the playground as a frontier society with its own hierarchies and its own institutions, known as games, that was *not* the play as history that I was reading about in the scholarly literature of that time. I had communicated with folklorists such as Archer Taylor in Berkeley and Carl Herman Tillhagen in Sweden and through them discovered that anthropologists and folklorists were the only ones who had developed game scholarship on a fairly massive scale. According to such authorities as E.B. Taylor and Stewart Culin, of the late nineteenth century, games were universal throughout the world because of the psychic unity of mankind. The parallels that were found between the games in Europe and Asia were presumed either to be evidence of the diffusion of these same games from some central location in the near east throughout the known world, or as evidence of independent human inventions of the same kind of games at all cultural levels of complexity. To this notion of the universality of mankind's games was attached, by some of these authorities, the additional "cultural evolutionary" thesis that the games with such universal content must, therefore, be evidences of earlier stages in the development of the human race. Games contained "survivals" of earlier times. Some of these ideas entered the field of children's folklore through the classically original work of American folklorist W.W. Newell in 1883 in his book *The Games and Songs of American Children* and in the British Isles through Lady A.B. Gomme in her two volume work *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1894 and 1898). She, in particular, believed that children's games origi-

nated in adult customs that were imitated by the children and then reformulated by them as games. These were then kept intact over the centuries by virtue of their "dramatic faculty" she said. We need remember that at about this time psychologists such as Stanley Hall were also maintaining that children's play was a recapitulation of evolutionary processes; that children progressed through the stages of reptilian-like crawling play, through animal playfighting, and through simian-like climbing play, before they became rational human beings by the end of childhood. In general, these theses, unsupported by the more relativistic approaches to anthropology in the earlier part of the twentieth century, nevertheless left behind the idea that games are largely universal throughout the world and, therefore, we can expect a constancy in games over historical times (Avedon & Sutton-Smith 1971).

Contrary to all of this, the most vivid impression of the history of playas I had collected it in New Zealand from the reminiscences of the old and the observations of the young was that play and games over the century from 1840 to 1950 were characterized by very considerable change. I hoped that in England I would be able to make real comparisons between the two countries to see if the British data really supported these "games as a museum" kinds of scholarly interpretations. Perhaps in England games were actually more constant over the centuries because there had been less change, whereas in New Zealand as a new country, change had been more inevitable. My evidence of change over one hundred years was as follows. My New Zealand collection for the total period from 1870 to 1950 yielded 450 different names of games. The number noted from 1870 to 1914 was 232 names. The number noted from 1914 to 1950 was 218 names. That is, the methods of collection had yielded approximately the same number of game names for both historical periods. The number disappearing after the first period was 134, and the number of newly appearing ones in the second period was 120. Only 98 game names were to be found in both eras, which is approximately 40% of constancy from 1870 to 1950. Change is, therefore, slightly more obvious than constancy in this assessment. But there are problems. The names of games do not, on their own, tell us how much they were played. In addition, the methods of collection, largely from adult memory for the earlier period, and partly from contemporary children's accounts in the modern period, introduce unspecific effects. The

data, however, is available for alternative assessments (Sutton-Smith 1959, 1981).

I first presented this game change data to the British Association for the Study of Science, Folklore Section, in the summer of 1952, and it was published in the British journal *Folklore* in September of 1953. In Belfast, where this took place, I gave a lecture on the changes that had taken place in the play of New Zealand children. It was my first public scholarly speech ever. When I was about five minutes into it, the presiding secretary of the British Folklore Society called out loudly from the floor that I should speak up because I could not be heard. My mumbling and *Our Street*-type patois was apparently not doing the job. The story I was trying to tell, despite this further difficulty with upper status British speech, was that most play in New Zealand in the nineteenth century was of the rural kind such as exploring the hills and streams, birding, fishing and hunting. There were no traditions of village green play, although there were occasionally a few such games at church or town picnics, as well as in the parlors of the well-to-do. Only when schooling became compulsory in 1877 was there a regular playground for all children. This early playground play was unsupervised, girls and boys had separate playgrounds; there was considerable formality (singing games, knucklebones, counting-out rhymes) in the girls' playground and a great deal of rough play in the boys' playground, including stone and knife throwing and punching games. Play apparatus was made entirely by these self-reliant children whether as bats, balls, tops, kites, or hoops. Children played such games until they left school at the age of 13 or 14 years. What happened increasingly after World War I, however, was that the playgrounds were supervised by the teachers so that the rough games previously there (tip cat, stone throwing, punching, and team and individual fighting) were banned. Organized sports were introduced for the older children and minor games for the younger ones. In addition, an increasingly more literate body of children became verbally more sophisticated in their humor and their imaginative expectations. They were supplied with more commercial hobbies and toy models, as well as mechanical devices such as trolleys and bicycles. Traditional games (marbles, hopscotch, skipping, ball bouncing) were played at earlier age levels. Boys and girls played in the same playgrounds, and in general they had lighter

clothes more suitable for fast-moving games. There was a great increase in games of chasing, the primary playground play object ceased to be the knife and became the ball. In general these children were treated less punitively at home and school than their forbears as they shared in the great nineteenth-century move from a manual to a non-manual civilization. All of these changes were in turn dwarfed by the even greater changes towards an information civilization that came after the 1950s involving television, computers, video games and the systematic development of childhood as a consumer society from the 1970s onward, but these are topics for a later chapter.

One advantage of the Belfast Folklore meeting was that I learned through the same secretary of the existence of Peter Opie who had already published *I Saw Esau* (1947) and *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (1951). She explained, however, that he was handicapped by not being a University Scholar. After subsequently reading his Dictionary, it did not seem to me that he was suffering from much of a handicap: quite the contrary. Peter and I met in a London pub and we exalted quietly together in being the only people in the world that thought it worthwhile to devote their lives to the pastimes of children, though why we should do that was something of a puzzle to both of us. He told me about his miscellaneous war-time writing that had sustained him economically in this child-oriented work. His ultimate aim was to write the definitive work of Children's Literature, but in the meantime he aimed to bring all the phenomena of childhood into his ken. His next step, he said (and my heart fell), was to do an Oxford companion to children's games. He explained how he had people all over England sending in their accounts of games of their childhood. In addition, he was making his way through every scholarly mention for each game that he could find throughout the history of British publications. I asked questions about samples and generalization, and whether people would be able to repeat his studies in another fifty years and draw conclusions about historical change. He brushed off my social science quibble with the comment that all the sources and everything about them were in the files and would be accessible for many years later for comparative historical purposes. Most important, he emphasized that his major conclusion to date was that there was amazing continuity of games from hundreds of years ago until today. He assumed that this was due

to human nature being everywhere much the same.

About ten years later, and after the publication of the *Lore and Language of Schoolchildren* in 1959, and despite the earlier remarks of the secretary, Peter was elected President of the British Folklore Society. By this time, and along with their succeeding works, *Children's Games in Streets and Playground* (1969) and *The Singing Game* (1985), Iona and Peter Opie had become the western world's most outstanding scholars in the field of children's folklore. When my wife and I visited their home in 1974, I was overwhelmed by the infinity of their collections of material culture of British childhood throughout the twentieth century, or of "childlife and literature" as they called it. Every category was annotated in Peter's minute handwriting. It was depressingly evident that they would need several lifetimes to convert all this childhood material culture into their own summations. And indeed, Peter did not survive to write his *Oxford Companion to Children's Literature* which appeared instead edited by Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Pritchard in 1984 with a dedication to Peter Opie, who had died in 1982.

In his Presidential Address in 1963, Peter clarified his views about the constancy of games over time in a paper entitled "The Tentacles of Tradition" (1963).

Nonetheless it would be wrong, I think, to give the impression that the rise and fall of customs is altogether haphazard—subject to no observable laws. Man himself, as the study of folklore shows, alters little, certainly no less than do his surroundings; and I sometimes wonder if the total quantity of traditional lore does not remain fairly constant. It is possible that old customs do not disappear until new customs arise and push them out. . . . It is even possible that the extent of man's supernatural and superstitious credulities remain constant, and that beliefs merely take on more sophisticated forms. Certainly there has been no slackening of man's desire to believe the unbelievable. (10)

With this sophisticated statement the issue shifts from my implied comparison between similar and dissimilar forms of play, then and now, to the older concept of an underlying psychic unity of human nature, an issue which one may infer, is probably quite unfathomable. Given that continuity as well as change is accepted as what is observable in children's folklore,

however, perhaps the issue might be shifted backwards to the famous W.W. Newell quandary in which he raises the question of why children's play seems on the one hand to be so conservative and on the other to be so inventive. Constancy and change as a character of childish behavior would seem to be more examinable than the issue of whether constancy and change in history are governed by some inner and stable calculus of human irrationality. As the Opies have indicated, we are dealing with generations of children's folklore that pass by every six years as the children make their way through the play on their playground from grade one to grade six.

As implied by the prior chapter, if children are to have some order in their playlife, then there must be considerable order in their play institutions and their play hierarchies. Alice Meckley has been able to show through regularly videotaping the indoor free play of four- and five-year-olds that the majority of these children know how to play the scenarios that they have created, such as: blocks, house, sand play, etc. in their proper order of internal sequences (1994). Each scenario has its routines and its roles, and all but dysfunctional children know how to fit into these when they wish to. All the children all the time, as well as playing their own games, are observing others in their play. Over time there is also a gradual evolution of the game forms. Suddenly one realizes that this coalescence of ritual and improvisation is what occurs also in adult society. It is required by the need of all present to be able to follow the action. Without such regularity, it is not possible for those present to enter into cooperative play forms. So the relative constancy and relative change of game forms throughout history has its anchor in the social character of human groups. The continuity of human nature may be explicated as the constancy of social hierarchies and the need for known routines in the life of cooperating creatures. What is universal and underlies all social games of all possible types is the widespread if not universal human need for such cooperation.

Still some games do persist over exceptionally long periods of time and this has to be explained. I have shown in an analysis of Iona and Peter Opie's 1985 *The Singing Game* that the changes in the name of these games over time are again as evident as are the continuities. Of the 133 games in that collection, there were only 16 of an ancient character which still persisted with vigor

in modern British children's play. These are singing games such as Oranges and Lemons, The Farmer in the Den, Ring a Ring O Roses, and In and Out the Windows (Sutton-Smith 1986). While we do not have as yet any answer to why these particular games have such longevity, there is data from longevity in counting out rhymes that might be helpful in any analysis. Counting out rhymes are small verses that children use to pick out those who will have the most or least desirable roles in the game that follows. The best known and longest lasting (over 150 years) of all such rhymes in the American children's folklore tradition is:

Eenie, meenie, miney, mo
Catch a tiger by the toe
If he hollers, let him go
Eenie, meenie, miney moe.

David Rubin has shown that the counting out rhymes which have been the most popular have distinctive poetic characteristics. There are repeated sound patterns, word repetitions, rhyme, alliteration and assonance. "All the words not involved in meaning are involved in one of these poetic devices. The last word of each line of both rhymes, either rhymes with or repeats the first word of another line. Alliterating words are close to each other. In addition to the repeating sound pattern, both rhymes contain four lines with four beats to the line, a pattern common in children's literature in general. . . there is no a phoneme or even a distinctive feature that can change without breaking some pattern" (203). There is much more to Rubin's analysis than this, but what it shows primarily is that there are these verbal constituents of counting out rhymes that contribute to their longevity. Their continuity, whatever the social grounds for continuity, also receives a contribution from the intrinsic verbal patterns. And from this it follows that the same relevance of inherent actions probably makes its contribution to the long life of all those other games that are known for their longevity. In a sense, the Opies have already contributed much basic knowledge of what the widespread favored action patterns might be. In just one example of theirs, *outdoor games*, the inherent action particulars include chasing, catching, seeking, hunting, racing, dueling, exerting, daring, guessing, acting and pretending. Within each of these there are, as well, other sub-categories of action. For example, under *chasing* action alone, they also describe:

touching, substitute for hand in touching, noxious effect of touching, immunity from touch, proliferation of chasers, suspense starts, chasee assistance, and chaser at a disadvantage (1969). My own earlier similar analysis was of the near universal syntax for the roles of actor and counteractor to be found in such games as those of race, chase, attack, capture, harassment, search, rescue and seduction (Sutton-Smith 1971). Obviously a great deal of further micro-analysis of these action properties is possible and would be necessary to show how these play forms are constituted by underlying patterns of highly enduring and related actions, just as the counting out rhymes are constituted by highly enduring verbal patterns.

It is even probable that, considering that some animals also play some of these chasing and other games, there are even more basic biological instigated constituents that are universal in both the animal and the human conditions. The detail of the Rubin example shows that there is much more to be done in the game field to provide a micro-action analysis before we could confidently talk about the effects of the biological games genome. But given current thinking about the proliferation of trillions of potential neural synapses in the very young, it would not be surprising that such micro elements are present in the neonatal brain, although their continuance would depend, as in all cases, on adequate practice. It is reasonable to speculate that, as in the counting out case, there are embryonic inherent neural programs in game play which contribute to the cultural continuities which the Opies are heralding. In sum, for a comprehensive account of game continuities we must specify, at least, the requirements of consistent routines if the play conditions of hierarchy and group constancy are to be maintained. These would include the presence of constituent words and acts that have widespread biological as well as local cultural appeal. There are undoubtedly many other more external cultural circumstances that further inflect the games, such as the predominant influence of certain ethnic groups, or ethnic teachers, and the gender politics that so effect the play of boys and girls. In addition, there are further culturally determined contents that evoke continued interest, such as marriage, warfare, bodily states, kinds of authority, etc.

When I left Peter that day in the pub, I knew I was not going to be doing the British equivalent of my New Zealand study.

That was already in good hands. Iona has more recently explained that, from about 1960, they themselves began to include extensive observational work in their study of childhood in addition to the retrospective written accounts that they had used in their earlier work. Fortunately I kept in touch with them over the years, and had often the continued benefit of their insights. To give a few examples: in 1960 I sent them a copy of my paper on the cruel jokes of children. Peter responded in a letter:

The collection of "Cruel Jokes" is fascinating. As you know I have long been "seriously" interested in humour-as it happens we're just engaged in a programme on children's humour for the BBC. You seem to be opening up new ground here and I think what terminology you use is important. Is 'cruel' the right word? I am also a bit unhappy about your categories and their nomenclature. . . . But none of this takes away from the eye opening collection you have assembled. We have been travelling around tape-recording children's jokes and I think I can say that people here (and certainly children of 11-12) do not go for this type of humour in the way that Americans do. Which is interesting. The difference in oral humour in the two countries might make a revealing (valuable) study.

In 1962 I mentioned to Peter that I was doing a monographic study of children's elementary strategic competence using the game Tick Tack Toe correlated with various other child-rearing variables as the means of access. This was later reported in Sutton-Smith and Roberts (1967). He replied:

You do not say what kind of 'Tic Tac Toe' you are interested in. Do you mean the game in which one goes round a marked circle 'Tic Tac Toe, my first go, three jolly butcher boys,' etc.? If so see our Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes p. 406. Or do you mean the box with nine boxes in it. If the latter the history is still difficult. Noughts and Crosses seems to be newish name here, perhaps not much more than a hundred years old, and America as usual preserves the old name 'tic-tac-toe', 'tit-tattoo', 'tip-tap-toe'. As 'tip-tap-toe' the game is recorded in a number of county glossaries e.g. "A Glossary of Provincial Words used in Teesdale in the County of Durham," 1849.

In 1981, I sent a copy of *The Folkstories of Children* and he replied:

You have given us a lot to think about here. About preschool children I can say nothing (despite a good crop now of grandchildren), but the sophistication of some of your other youngsters, e.g. Felix, aged 7 (pp.

206-215) and Garth aged 8, "Once upon a time, oh forget the old corny bit" (p. 224) is staggering. The tales are very different from the tales we collect: and the worrying thing strikes me that such pieces are likely to be influenced by the identity or nature of the collector as by the teller.

Finally in 1982, after Peter's death, Iona wrote to us:

I shall stay here and go on with the work at whatever pace seems possible I shall not be able (I am not that much of a recluse—it was all right with two) to work all hours of every day; but this is my life and I love it. We had a sort of triangular life: Peter, Me and what we called 'The Work.' I have been worrying myself as all widows seem to do, about Peter's death—could I have prevented it, need he have driven himself so hard, and on and on. And now I know, for various reasons, that he died of his massive heart attack because he was the kind of man who does have heart attacks, and lives the way he wants to live because no one can prevent him or really would want to.

Shortly after my meeting with Peter and Iona in 1952, I received news that I had received a Fulbright Travel Grant and a Smith-Mundt Research Fellowship and should proceed in December to the University of California at Berkeley to pursue my interest in play at the Institute for Human Development there. Clearly my luck was moving me towards the psychological rather than the historical side of my work. I had, however, two other play-oriented interests that still directed my interest while in London. These had to do not with the social psychology of children at play or the history of children's folklore as above, but with the educational values of different kinds of play for children. These interests were a consequence of my experiences as a teacher.

The meaning that play has come to have in this country for most adults is the value that it has for child development. The notion that play is just a waste of time has been replaced gradually by the notion that it can be valuable for the children's psychological and physical development. In my historical work, I had noticed the increasing encroachment of organized sport and organized minor games into the lives of children. In both New Zealand and the USA the fever for children's tournaments in the major sports—rugby/cricket in the one place and football/baseball in the other—developed particularly after 1918 and reached great heights in the 1930s. In both countries there was, however, a subsequent reaction against this tournament

frenzy. In New Zealand there was a demand that minor games for younger children should be as important as these interschool sports contests, and during the 1940s there developed large-scale field days where numbers of schools would participate together in minor games and athletics. In the USA, the elementary schools banished organized sports from their supervision and they were subsequently sponsored only by outside community groups, but not in school time.

In my own case, one of the handicaps of spending several years collecting materials about children's games is that I came to nostalgically value children's folk games over organized games. They became very special to my sense of my own identity. Along with Norman Douglas, I began to feel that folkgames were preferable in childhood to organized sports. He says:

Not that I am saying anything against cricket in particular. You can do many things with a bat. But there are many more things you can't do. And all of these other things are bound to be left outside your reach in the long run, you get taken up by cricket. Because you see, you don't take up cricket. . . you think you do, but you don't; you get taken up. You think you are doing what you please with a bat, but the fact is, that the bat does what it pleases with you; you think it's your servant, but in reality it is a master who drives you along the way he means to go-or rather the only way he can go (that is, hitting a ball). It's perfectly true you can play well or badly; but, play as you like, you can't help your faculty for inventing something outside bats and balls getting rustier all the time. And it's true that cricket saves you the trouble of inventing those other games; that's just its drawback, I say. Not getting out of the rut! With the bat in your hand you can only do what it allows you to do. Which is a good deal; but not half as much as if your hands were empty. (155)

But just how "inventive" were children in earlier times? They were clearly more physically self-reliant than modern children in their wilder environments making their own games with nature (flowers, nuts, etc.) and with sticks as bats, catapults, bows and fishing rods. But their freedom was as much of a product of neglect as it was of adult forethought. There was clearly improvisation there. But there is nothing to say that their

traditional games were entirely less conservatively managed than are the games later organized for children by adults. Obviously in earlier times there was more diversity of game variants because of the parochial character and lack of communications from one community to the next. The further back we go into the middle ages, the greater there is of such variety. But again, diversity can also mean highly ritualistic play in each place according to its own rules. Modern diversity of mediated information, which is communicated to all and sundry, may well provide a better slate for imitative diversity at least of the verbal and pantomimic kind.

Many years later, I look back and to my own surprise, suddenly remember that what I revered as a child was not the informal folkgames of chasing that we played as children, it was rather the games of rugby that were organized for us as well as organized by us. I offer a memory of this state of affairs which returned to me recently and which stands in some opposition to my earlier nostalgic reference for the museum of folkgames:

When I was eleven years of age, I was made captain of the second rugby fifteen in my primary school in Wellington, New Zealand. In the early moments of our first Friday afternoon winter game our side got a penalty kick on the twenty-five yard line. I suddenly realized that being captain, I had to decide who should take the free kick and furthermore that, being captain, I could appoint myself as the kicker. It was an overwhelming moment of having authority unlike anything I had ever experienced before. I was no good at place kicking, which was the usual way of taking a penalty. But I had spent a large part of my childhood practicing drop kicks. Two of us in our street had a game of potting drop kicks between the goal posts in turns, each one having to take his kick from where he recovered the ball after the other one had taken his pot. So I asked the referee (who was our schoolteacher), "Is it OK if I take a pot?"

"Whatever you like," he said.

So I walked up to the place he indicated on the twenty-five yard line, stepped back a few steps, looked up and down at my foot and the goal, and then moving quickly forward, dropped the ball vertically in front of me, kicking it just as it reached the ground. It was not a great kick, as it did not rise in an arc towards the goal, but rather shot forward on a horizontal plane swerving

to the left as it just went over the bar in the corner. All of my teammates gave cries of joy and I felt myself flushed and humbled by the magic of this great moment. The referee smiled at me. And after the game was over, and as we walked back the mile or so to school, he said several times, "That was indeed a very good kick." And that if I liked, I could take the football home for the weekend and bring it back on Monday.

I played rugby from the ages of seven to that of nineteen, but I never again scored any points in the several hundred games I played over that period of time. And on the day of the kick, which was worth three points, we went on to lose that game by eleven to three. We didn't win any of the other games we played that season, either.

That year at school I got a prize for being the most-improved member of my class, and I also got a prize at Sunday School for the regularity of my attendance. These prizes did not seem to have much relationship to anything I understood and were only mildly important to me. But my football goal was concretely related to my incessant play with a rugby ball since as an infant I could hold it in my arms. In my backyard I played at seeing how many kicks I could take with each foot in turn. My right foot was the North Island where I lived, and my left foot was the South Island, and the number of kicks each foot made was the score for that Island. The situation was biased by the North Island being my preferred right foot and not surprisingly it always won this most important periodic rugby event.

My brother and I went up to Athletic Park every Saturday afternoon and watched the senior rugby games. And on Saturday mornings we went up to the park and played our own two or three aside games with all the other boys from our street. And in the school playground during the week, the kids played scragging at mid-morning playtime and in the lunch hour. Everyone chased after the person who had the rugby ball and if he didn't kick it away, they pulled him down to the ground, grabbing the ball away from him. Then they went after whoever had the ball the next time. And when the school bell rang, we all went into the classroom muddy with our clothes askew, and our faces flushed with exertion.

So it is not surprising, perhaps, that nothing in my childhood meant as much to me as that drop kick. It was the first time that I knew I must be pretty good at footy. I was very proud of myself

for that.

Still, I was unaware of these hidden contradictions between my acquired academic folklore nostalgia and my personal play background at the time of my visit to the British Isles. I was instead busy looking for ways to replace the apparent over-organization of children's playground play by more creative if novel opportunities. What caught my attention first in the postwar playground scene were the Junk Playgrounds which were coming into some intellectual vogue for children. Here it seemed was a new and promising way of returning the playgrounds from sports back to creativity. Sorenson, a Danish landscape gardener had noted in the 1930s the way in which children stole onto building sites and had great games with the objects lying round. So he suggested creating playgrounds supplied with suitable materials and tools where the children could create their own play. The first playground was erected in Endrup, Copenhagen, in 1943, and the children were allowed to dig caves, build houses, make fireplaces, make gardens and light bonfires. In London in 1952, I heard about all of this from Lady Allen of Hurtwood (1946) who was the key authority on British junk playgrounds at that time. I visited such playgrounds on wartime ex-bomb sites. There was nothing very idyllic about them. They were covered with rubble and were dirty and dusty. The grounds were easily broken into by outsiders who were not above pirating the wood for the family fire places, stealing the tools and breaking into the Nissan huts. Still over several years many children had a wonderful time in them, though in the long run lack of adult supervisors, parental opposition to the mess, gang warfare over them, and the reclaiming of the land by churches and other institutions being rebuilt led to their demise. Many years later, a Minnesota use of a public playground as a junk playground provided with abundant timber led to the creation of a shanty town, and was also closed ultimately because of its threat to real estate values. Perhaps the nearest we have come to these earlier idyllic images of what nature and children might create was the Berkeley school garden pioneered by Roger Moore, in which an asphalt school playground was returned to a creek including gardens with flowers, shrubs, vegetables and trees (1986). For the greatest part, however, child public playground inventors have put their faith in apparatuses

of wood, old tires, and cement hills, or some form of flexible equipment as providing the proper scope for children's playground creativity.

Behind all of these efforts in at least to some small degree was Rousseau's eighteenth-century notion of children disciplined directly by nature; also, the idealist nineteenth-century connections made between art, morality and play, as in the hands of Schiller, Pestalozzi, and Froebel; and in the twentieth century, the conflation of primitive and child art and play by many modern artists. As Picasso, Matisse, Kadinsky and Klee all advised, they would like to be able to draw like children because, as they contended, children draw what they imagine, not what they see. None of all of this has much directly to do with folkgames except that they were other ways in which those who felt that the culture was losing a great deal by the loss of such games, sought to argue for more opportunities for children's creativity in the playground of the future. One other pursuit I made while in London was to visit a number of schools where they were making free movement to music, free painting, and creative drama as part of the elementary school curriculum. There were a number of schools where the children were entirely on their own resources for the first hour or so in the morning, and could do school work, art work, or play inside or outside until regular school commenced after morning break. Their creative products in painting and writing were most impressive.

In sum, as the century has progressed, the playground, first seen as a tribal or folk museum, gradually became the playground thought of as a subsidiary sports training center. Only later, mostly in public playgrounds, which had sufficiently interesting play apparatus, the playground came to be called an "adventure" or creative playground. In general, however, the fate of playground theory in the USA has been most affected more recently by their being banned to children in some states except for supervised physical education activities. And banned in some cities because of the impoverished state of the grounds themselves, and the fear of the accidents and danger to children in their relatively unsupervised state. In addition, there has been increasing psychological concern about the playgrounds permitting bullying, male sexism and too much aggression.

Nevertheless, there is every indication that in much of the

British Isles, folk traditions continue in school playgrounds (Slukin 1881; Opie 1993). And in the USA also, the majority of children's playgrounds still are characterized by play organized by the children themselves (Sutton-Smith, Meckley, and Gerstmyer 1988)-much of it relatively traditional folkgame phenomena and the rest the children's own small group versions of sports. Iona Opie's wonderful account of British playground play in 1978-80 shows that what we were talking and being nostalgic about is the quite unique nature of a society created by children themselves when the playground supervision allows it. Children in their playground are truly a different society, and most adults are made uncomfortable by the apparent confusion and noise and are unwilling for them to have those rights, because their intensity, their relative barbarism, their parody of our authority, and their speed of enactments frighten us and make us feel that they are out of control. Iona Opie says: "But come closer and step into a playground; a kind of defiant lightheartedness envelops you. The children are clowning. They are making fun of life; and if an inquiring adult becomes too serious about words and rules they say: 'Its only a game, isn't it? Its just for fun. I don't know what it means. It doesn't matter'." (15). It is also clear from the ribald contents of her book that if she had done it as a University thesis in my time, at my institution, they would not have allowed it in the library.

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FOLKLORE AND PERSISTENCE IN LEWIS CARROLL'S ALICE'S ADVENTURES IN WONDERLAND

Erica Lynn Ruppert

I think that the paramount question in this investigation is why people continue to be so interested in Alice. This question addresses the text's endurance over the last one hundred and thirty-two years and the consequential rise of Alice as a symbol in popular culture. In part, Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* has become an icon of popular culture because of its folkloric content. More specifically, the story provides a plethora of examples of children's speech play drawn directly from the child language model. The presence of such children's lore accounts for the text's persistence because this use of language creates a sense of familiarity with its readers. My inspiration or "spark" for this paper emerges from my housemates' obsession with Alice.

A visit to either Jessie or Carolyn's room leads to an encounter with various Alice paraphernalia. Everything from Alice coffee mugs and jewelry boxes to stuffed White Rabbits and posters bearing the inscription, *Beware the Frumious Bandersnatch*, litters the visual horizon. I think that this sort of representation of a literary text says a lot about how it still influences people over a century after its publication. I asked Jessie why she loves Alice and she promptly responded, "I see a lot of my own qualities in Alice. She's just a confused little girl with no idea where she is, and everything she's supposed to do in life doesn't work here."

The interesting thing about Jessie's response is that it stretches back to Victorian England and the feelings that many of its citizens were experiencing in relation to the many social, intellectual, scientific, and economic changes that were emerging. The atmosphere of the Victorian Era entered what the leading literary and cultural critic, Matthew Arnold, designated as "anarchy" stemming from "the British worship of machinery" (Rackin 6). The rise of this "anarchy" gave birth to the fear of the loss of the individual. We see the embodiment of this fear in Carroll's use of playing cards and other manufactured items that gain dominion over our middle-class human representa-

tive. These manufactured figures resonate a fear of the loss of the individual in which the members of the human race will shrivel into "inflexible cogs in an unprogressive, incomprehensible but perpetual, all-consuming social mechanism" (Rackin 6).

The Victorian mechanical revolution erupted among a number of other movements spanning all planes of thought. *The Communist Manifesto* was translated into English in 1850, and Darwin's *The Origin of Species* created controversy in the early 1860s. The introduction of the theories of socialism and evolution alone generated enough anxiety in the world view of everyday British citizens that they saw a

... frightening vision of ... themselves as no more than one of countless dispensable species in an inescapable biological mechanism governed (like laissez-faire capitalism) by survival-of-the-fittest instincts. (Rackin 7)

Theories such as these produced anxieties of "inevitable class warfare" rising up from

... mass industrialization, laissez-faire economics, a large and growing proletariat, urbanization, cycles of inflation and depression, and devastating poverty in the midst of immense wealth. (Rackin 8)

All of these social conditions created the frightening possibility of anarchy and revolution in the minds of the elite and privileged class of Carroll and the real-life Alice.

As part of a common-sense culture, we and the members of Carroll's England see the world as "characterized by a set of fundamental assumptions that we further assume to be intersubjective, that is, held equally by all members" (Stewart 8). These assumptions exist unquestionably and stand as the foundation of our everyday world and all its functions:

(1) that the structure of the world is constant, (2) that the validity of our experience with the world is constant, and (3) that our ability to act upon the world and in the world is constant. (Stewart 8)

Clearly, the extensive social changes and the emergence of new theories in evolution and other scientific areas left the members of Victorian society bereft of such a safety net. All

these social currents changed the way people viewed the world and their position in it. The world was transformed into a materialistic, godless void that was anything but constant. This anxiety carries over into our own time of technological advancement, mass consumption, and such scientific leaps as cloning. Such changes force us to readjust our view of the world and our place in it.

This is what happens to our Alice. She falls down the rabbit hole "very slowly, for she has plenty of time to look about her as she [goes] down, and to wonder what [is] going to happen next" (Carroll 8). In Wonderland, not even gravity works as a stable concept. Not even faithful constants like size remain unchanged. We often find our heroine crying because she grows to such proportions that she "[finds] her head pressing against the ceiling, and [has] to stop her neck from being broken" (Carroll 28). If scientific constants such as gravity and normal rates of growth do not adhere to their existence as facts, then the didactic and moralizing qualities of the above-ground world shouldn't be expected to be functioning properly either. Amusingly enough, any time Alice attempts to recite any of her moral classroom verses, they transform themselves into something completely opposite to their original sentiments.

The first poem of the text parodies Isaac Watts' "Against Idleness and Mischief." Here, the poem changes from one promoting the virtue of being industrious to one exuding elements of a Darwinian theme. "How doth the busy little bee / Improve each shining hour" quickly mutates into how "the little crocodile / Improve[s] his shining tail" by welcoming "little fishes in / With gently smiling jaws" (Carroll). The switch in subject matter shows two different world views side by side. In a comparison of the two, Watts' didactic message that keeping busy will keep you out of trouble, not to mention Hell, looks ridiculous next to the survival of the fittest lesson being taught by Carroll's version.

Carroll's subversion of these moralizing and didactic aspects of children's texts is a part of the nineteenth-century debate over the content of children's literature. In the first half of the century, "there was a strong prevalent distrust toward fairy tales." The idea behind such a distrust took shape from the conclusion that filling a child's head with too much fictitious information would hinder the child's ability to differentiate

between fantasy and reality. Besides, wouldn't it be more productive to teach children applicable knowledge like "the latitude and longitude of Otaheite and the main products of Peru" ("F.T. with a Purpose" 321). Such objections soon dropped off with the spread of children's literature in the 1840s.

The Home Treasury by Felix Summerly marked a revolution regarding the content of children's literature. His little book of fairy tales gave life to the notion that children should "enjoy themselves with their story books, and it suggested implicitly that fairy tales gave excellent entertainment value" ("F.T. for Pleasure" 324). The 1840s also showed a number of literary tales. Among these was *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, which was published in 1865. The absence of "the pious, the moralistic, and the didactic" characterize the text so that it seems that these elements "never existed at all in children's literature" ("F.T. for Pleasure" 325).

In the final chapter of *Alice's adventures*, something especially noteworthy occurs. Alice resumes control over the chaotic mishaps of Wonderland with her cry of "stuff and nonsense." Her affirmation works in regard to the Queen's logic that sentences come before evidence and Alice's naming of the Queen of Hearts and her court for what they really are—"nothing but a pack of cards" (Carroll 97). This assertion brings together two reasons for the endurance of *Alice*. Alice's experience in Wonderland parallels the encounter that members of Victorian England observed in relation to the social changes that disrupted the constant flow of their world. In *Alice*, they saw a hope that they, too, would be able to conquer the madness that continued to break down their world view. Due to the confusion in our own lives, we can see how the story's appeal stretches to amuse a modern audience.

The other reasons for *Alice's* contrived popularity stem from Carroll's mass subversion of all didactic material in the text. Subversion works on all the didactic material in the text, illustrating how silly a lot of these ideals really are in relation to the reality of the world. "By treating the world. . . with such playfulness, Lewis Carroll reduces it from the terrifying place it sometimes [seems] to a manageable absurdity" ("F.T. for Pleasure" 326). Either way, Carroll's story of a curious seven-year-old gives its readers a most delightful form of wish fulfillment.

Wish fulfillment is a major function of fairy tales and

folktales. *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, like most folktales, evolved from an oral tradition. The story initially began as an oral tale told to Alice Liddell and her sisters in 1862. Even the actual setting of the story's first performance has its own legend. The "golden afternoon" of July 4, 1862, was in fact, "cool and wet," (Carroll 3) "according to the Meteorological Office's weather record" (Rackin 115).

Carroll's text exists as a blend of two genres of folklore. The text itself survives as an example of nursery lore, which is composed of "traditions transmitted from adults to children." The second genre Carroll uses is children's lore. Children's lore includes the "traditions transmitted from child to child" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 66). This paper looks toward the use of children's lore, widely known as speech play, within Carroll's tale as a working model that displays aspects of the child language model. Furthermore, I think that the resonance of child language helps to explain the persistence of the text. This persistence mainly radiates from the nostalgia that the book creates in adult readers and the bond it forges with its child audience, because both child and adult can relate to the language used within the context of everyday experience.

To give a better view of the child language model, one must draw a clearer idea of how language itself functions. Language contains levels upon which any coherent sentence depends. These levels are as follows: morphonological, syntactic, semantic, and sociolinguistic. Syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations act as organizing features among these language levels. Syntagmatic relations "govern. . . the linear organization of elements, for example, noun phrase + verb phrase." Paradigmatic features "hold among members of a class which have the same syntagmatic function on any level of language; for example, mother, brother, sister, father are all members of a paradigm" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 76).

These mechanisms serve to produce language whether the speaker is an adult or a child. Child language differs from that of an adult on a quantitative basis. Their language is characteristically shorter and less complex than adults'. Although this comprises the major difference between child and adult language,

other evidence. . . indicates that the child's "storage" system is

qualitatively different from adults' and that to generate" child speech," the language model must contain design features which are not just quantitatively different from those of an adult. (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 77)

One qualitative distinction between child and adult language stems from the child's phonological language component, which "is much more strongly organized than the syntactic, semantic, or sociolinguistic" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 77).

In her endless stream of discombobulated morals, the Duchess says something quite interesting in regards to the composition of the child language model. The Duchess says, "Take care of the sense and the sounds will take care of themselves" (Carroll 71). Like everything else in Wonderland, this statement is ironic because of its inversion of reality. Children derive pleasure from experimenting with sounds without regard to the components of language. This phenomenon stands as a defining feature in the production of children's speech play.

The Dormouse exhibits this fascination with the phonological. He decides that the three little girls in the well" drew all manner of things-everything that begins with the letter M." Alice quickly inquires why the drew things that begin with M, and the Dormouse just says, "Why not." The Dormouse's ramblings that the girls drew things that begin "with an M, such as mouse traps, and the moon, and memory, and muchness" illustrates a difference between child and adult language (Carroll 60). Within child language, the phonological structure overrides all other structures of speech. This disregard of grammar and semantics alone shows a difference in the child's storage system.

More specifically, the prominence of the phonological can account for the prevalence of nonsense in a child's verbal art productions. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett asserts that the "younger child's structure contains fewer lexical and morphonological forms on which to map newly heard phonological sequences." The older child or adult hearing something foreign will" generally strive to make sense of the sequence while young children will sooner accept nonsense" (86). The child's acceptance and production of nonsense branches from the process of language acquisition. Children acquire language in stages; they concern themselves with one "particular level of the linguistic system" which they are "currently bent on mastering" (Kirshenblatt

Gimblett 87). This mastering leads to an expansion of the syntagmatic organization.

With the Dormouse's particular interest in the sound of M, we see this obsession with a single aspect of language. Children play with sounds for the sounds alone. The amusing thing about the situation in Wonderland is that a number of characters use the child language model. Here, the Dormouse employs the phonological, and it is Alice who questions its use. This reversal contributes to the attraction the text holds for many readers. Adults see this switch in language as a regression and perhaps an escape. The child sees it quite differently. Some critics view speech play as a "means of enculturation" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 74). Within the culture of Wonderland, Alice and the child reader are empowered to ask why; by the end of the book, the child becomes the authority. This relates back to the text's appeal on the basis of its wish-fulfillment properties.

Alice's Adventures in Wonderland occur on May 4th, Alice Liddell's birthday. Carroll uses this date within the text to make his Alice seven years old. At age seven, Alice is at the right stage for being fascinated with the phonological aspect of language. The overdevelopment of phonological elements leads to the production of children's speech play within the story. More specifically, Carroll employs many genres of children's lore such as rhymes, riddles and imperfect puns.

One kind of pun characteristic of children's lore is the child's use of homonyms. Once again, the child's interest in sounds makes this game an amusing exercise. The use of homonyms creates perfect puns and forces a shift of meaning upon the reader. Children of Alice's age require true puns that employ "perfectly homonymous elements. . . to produce two well-formed syntactic representations and thus two possible semantic interpretations" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 96). Alice and the Mouse continuously trip each other up in chapter three, "A Caucus Race." When the Mouse gets around to finally telling his tale, mass confusion ensues due to all the homonyms that litter the dialogue.

From the beginning of this chapter, Carroll signals to the audience that language, another stable concept of the aboveground world, is not to be trusted. The tip-off comes from the solutions the Mouse and the Dodo suggest to dry everyone.

First, the Mouse confuses the two meanings of the word "dry." To dry them out from their swim in Alice's tears, the Mouse tells them the story of William the Conqueror because it's "the driest thing [he] know[s]" (Carroll 22). Right away, we know something funny is going on.

Dodo completely avoids using language to explain his plan. When Alice inquires what a Caucus race is, Dodo says, "The best way to explain it is to do it" (Carroll 23). He refuses to rely on the language in an attempt to avoid any confusion. His response also shows how a young child might demonstrate meaning because he doesn't have the vocabulary to express his intent verbally. Once again, Carroll relates to certain patterns found in a child's everyday experience.

Once Alice begs the Mouse to tell her the "history. . . and why it is [he] hates C and D," nothing but confusion follows. The culprits are the words tale and tail, and not and knot. Before he even begins to explain, Alice is thinking upon another track because of the exactness of sound. The Mouse begins, "Mine is a long and sad tale" (Carroll 24). Alice immediately thinks that he is speaking of his t-a-i-l. Once this split in the conversation occurs, nonsense begins to raise its head, and the dialogue goes out of control.

When the Mouse realizes that Alice's mind is wandering, he accuses her of not paying attention. She responds that "he got to the fifth bend"; her response and the picture of the Mouse's narrative patterned as a tail shows her confusion. The Mouse hasn't deviated from the original meaning of his speech and reacts to Alice's comment about reaching the fifth bend with an angry "I had not" (Carroll 25). Of course, Alice still hasn't caught on to her own confusion and continues it by interpreting the "not" as a knot in the Mouse's tail. Alice offers to untie the knot, but the Mouse is insulted by Alice's "talking such nonsense" (Carroll 26).

In Carroll's world, "conversations are continually halted by puns, by splitting of the discourse into two simultaneous and disparate paths, each followed by a respective member of the conversation." The main reason for this division arises from the fact that the puns used in conversations aren't classified simply as puns and put aside. Instead, they receive the attention without classification. As a result, they act as an "impediment to seriousness" (Stewart 161). In this capacity, the pun works to

make the didactic look silly. When the Mouse uses the story of William the Conqueror to dry them out, he makes the knowledge of history look useless because it fails to dry them out.

The use of the imperfect pun within "The Mock Turtle's Story" also helps to break down certain aspects of the aboveground world. The child language model accounts for the production of imperfect puns as again sprouting from the child's fascination with sounds. Younger children prefer imperfect puns over perfect puns: "a close phonological resemblance satisfies the child" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 94).

The first imperfect pun that Alice encounters is between "tortoise" and "taught us." The Mock Turtle tells her that his teacher was an old turtle and that his name was "Tortoise." Alice knows that turtles are marine turtles and that tortoises are land turtles. When the Mock Turtle uses the terms interchangeably, Alice becomes confused. Her above-ground knowledge of words that differentiate between two species is proven worthless. This distinction is a biological fact, and it has been nullified here by a mere pun. The Mock Turtle responds angrily to Alice's inability to realize that the turtle was called "Tortoise because he taught us" because she adheres to the above-ground system of knowledge (Carroll 75). Alice demonstrates that she cannot separate herself from the above-ground structure.

The Mock Turtle's substitution of "taught us" for "tortoise" confused Alice because he used members of unequal lexemic status. The word tortoise is a single lightsome while the construction of "taught us" is two lexemes. A final reason for the confusion is that "the pairs are different parts of speech and function differently syntactically: they could not be used interchangeably" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 96).

The remaining puns in the chapter are close phonological resemblances and are of equallexemic status. Alice listens to a list of imperfect puns on school room subjects. Here the imperfect puns are simple, and their above ground counterparts are easily recognized. The transformation of reading and writing to "reeling and writhing" and history to "mystery" amuses readers of all ages (Carroll 76).

Rhymes serve Carroll the most when it comes to subversion. Developmentally, rhymes are a favorite because

the use of rhyme is supposed to reduce the speaker's responsibility for

what he is saying because of the tendency of the first rhyming word to have "the effect of compelling the utterance of the second." (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 72).

This works well for Carroll. He continuously takes the moralizing poems published for the nursery and classroom and separates the author's original intent from its rhyme scheme. The end product takes the reader away from a didactic sphere of thought. In its place, Carroll offers some counter idea that makes the moral model look silly. This occurs in his parody of "Against Idleness and Mischief," as I have discussed earlier in the paper. In the end, blame for the parodies' alternative messages can be placed with the fact that nothing else fit into the rhyme scheme.

Another example of how these parody rhymes fit into the development of child language resides in the fact that "children's rhymes [are] viewed as a degeneration of earlier utterances" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 68). This accounts for the production of jump rope or ball-bouncing rhymes. Carroll draws on the child language model to make his subversion look natural. Whenever Alice takes it in her head to recite, "the words [do not] come the same as they used to" (Carroll 16). Therefore, Carroll imitates the production of children's lore with his text.

These rhymes would have served as entertaining to the Liddell sisters and other nineteenth-century readers because they were more than likely familiar with the original texts. These parodies were also amusing to the Liddells (and modern readers with annotated texts) because of the obvious violations on the sociolinguistic level. People like to think that they are getting away with something.

"'Tis the voice of the Lobster," a parody of Isaac Watts' "Tis the voice of the Sluggard," illustrates some of the traits I have discussed above. The title of Watts' poem cues the reader that this is not a happy poem reflecting on the attributes of springtime. Just the word sluggard indicates to the reader that this is a voice that you do not want to call your own. It speaks against the laziness of such a person by showing him refusing to rise out of bed. Now, a child around Alice's age would remember the poem's moral and try to exemplify what she has learned. We already know that she remembers morals when she remembers that "if you drink from a bottle marked 'poison,' it is almost certain to disagree with you, sooner or later" (Carroll 11). She

makes sure to look at the bottle's label before she proceeds any further.

The content of the parody itself is important alone in the fact that Watts' message is missing from the passage. The fact that the Lobster is "baked too brown" and his voice has a "timid and tremulous sound" (Carroll 82) around the sharks resonates the same Darwinian themes found in "How doth the little crocodile / Improve his shining tail" (Carroll 16). The only difference comes from the fact that the Lobster lives as prey and the Crocodile exists as a predator in the Darwinian scheme of things.

Another parody that subverts the intentions of the original is Alice's performance of "You are Old Father William." Robert Southerly published it in 1799 as "The Old Man's Comforts." Southerly's version speaks of a pious old man who looks toward death with joy because "In the days of his youth / [He] remembered [his] God: / And [God] hath not forgotten his age" (Carroll 36). These pious sentiments are absent from Carroll's version. Father William never mentions God or death in the poem. The omission of these two topics allows the old man to stand on his head, to "turn a back-somersault in at the door," or even try to sell you the ointment that keeps him supple (Carroll 38). He does things that are nonsensical, but at the same time he breaks out of a stereotype of what is proper for the old. He is most uncharitable: he obviously isn't thinking about death or the here-after when he threatens to "kick you down-stairs" (Carroll 40). In the case of this parody and "'Tis the voice of the Lobster," Alice opens her mouth with the intention of regurgitating the pious syllables of the classroom; she is left just as surprised as the reader when she produces something quite opposite to the original. Whether the reader is familiar with the nursery rhymes of the nineteenth century or not, he or she will be amused with the nonsense Carroll produces and the confusion that he heaps upon poor Alice.

The final genre of children's folklore I wish to address in regard to Carroll's novel is the riddle. In Alice's age group, "three times as many joking riddles are told as jokes in any other form." It is in their experiments with the riddles and jokes that children "gradually learn to discriminate between joking and nonjoking discourse." The joking riddle "usually exists as a short verbal formula requiring only verbatim repetition" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 71).

When the Hatter poses his riddle, "Why is a raven like a writing desk," Alice immediately gets excited and believes that the tea party will transform itself into a good time (Carroll 55). This obviously doesn't happen, and when she leaves the tea party in a huff, she designates it "the stupidest tea-party [she] was ever at in all [her] life" (Carroll 61).

As soon as Alice arrives at the tea party, she comes in contact with a good many rules of proper decorum amongst a great deal of rudeness. The March Hare offers her wine when there isn't any. She berates him for his lack of manners. The Hare immediately uses this attack to point out her own transgression of sitting down without an invitation. Her first encounter with the Hatter involves his commentary on her personal appearance. Alice shows her bruised ego by telling the Hatter that he is rude. It is only now that battle lines have been drawn that the Hatter asks his question.

Brian Sutton-Smith looks on the asking of riddles as "a contest in which one central person competes with another for the possession of arbitrary authority" (112). He goes on to say that "riddles exist in cultures where rote learning from authority figures is emphasized, as well as oral interrogation by those figures" (Sutton-Smith 111). In the context of this hypothesis, it seems that the Hatter and Alice begin a "game of rhetoric in which victory is achieved by prior access to arcane knowledge" (Sutton-Smith 112). That this is a game of rhetoric becomes obvious when the Hare attacks Alice's rhetoric when she says, "I believe I can guess that." He tells her that she "should say what [she] means" and Alice responds by telling the Hare that she "mean[s] what [she] says" (Carroll 55). This sparks a debate on Alice's control over her own rhetoric. Alice has to answer the riddle to show her competence. She might have exerted order over Wonderland here if she could have answered the riddle correctly, but since there is no answer, she can't win this game and the Hatter maintains control.

The Mad Hatter's riddle seems to be one example of children's lore that has survived to stand under the examination of today's readers. I believe that the numerous works of literary criticism attempting to answer this one riddle speak highly of Alice as a whole. Even the Sphinx's riddle had an answer. In the world of Victorian England as well as our own uncertain time, there is a sense that if we could just resolve this one question, we could

resolidify our position in our own chaotic reality. The Jefferson Airplane song, "White Rabbit," stands out as an example of how people in the twentieth century continue to ask, through Alice's experiences in Wonderland, how to find a balance in our everyday lives. The listeners can find that balance, Jefferson Airplane suggests in a repeated lyric, if they will "Go Ask Alice." This line shows listeners' and singer's identification with Alice. I think that the book's popularity will continue to grow and that people will persist to "Ask Alice."

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HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION OF CHILDREN'S FOLKLORE IN THE AMERICAN FOLKLORE SOCIETY

Simon J. Bronner

When the American Folklore Society began in 1888, its leaders encouraged regional "branches" around the country. While their organizational efforts went toward establishing local centers for a variety of ethnic-regional interests related to recovering the "fast-vanishing remains" of folk traditions in America, they were well aware of children as sources of folklore. William Wells Newell, the Society's founder and first editor, claimed children's songs and games as his special area of expertise, and his successor Alexander Chamberlain was equally known for his research into childhood. Stewart Culin, the Society's first curator, compiled vast amounts of data on children's play and installed exhibitions on toys and games for the Society. Even so, the organizational sights of these leaders were set less on the promotion of childhood as a distinct field and more on effecting a national spread to comparative folklore work.

By the 1970s, when several degree programs in folklore had been set in motion boasting folklore as a discipline, the regional branches had faded away from the Society's organizational picture. The question in a mobile national society became less on where one was studying and more on what one was researching. This was coupled with an expansion of the materials of folklore from oral tradition to social and material aspects of culture. In the process, the shared understanding of folklore as forms of speech and narrative broke down, and became reconstituted as a wide, often unpredictable range of groups and genres expressing tradition. Appropriate to this shift, the organization of the Society allowed for "sections," set not in a location, but in networks of researchers devoted to subjects, especially folklore groups and genres. One could meet in annual meetings at an appointed time and band with students and scholars devoted to women, Jews, food, occupations, and history who came from all corners of the nation and even the globe. The sections proliferated by the 1990s to over 20 subfields. Among the earliest of the sections-as well as the most active, prosperous, and most organized-was the Children's Folklore Section. Indeed, it became a model for the programming of other sections.

The 1970s was a time of major revisionist work on children's culture with conspicuous American contributions from Brian Sutton Smith, Kenneth Goldstein, Thomas Burns, and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett at the University of Pennsylvania, Gary Alan Fine at the University of Minnesota, and Jay Mechling at the University of California at Davis, among others. A number of courses specifically devoted to children's folklore became evident. Elizabeth Tucker at the State University of New York at Binghamton, John McDowell at Indiana University, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett at the University of Pennsylvania made syllabi available to a network of colleagues. Mary and Herbert Knapp's *One Potato, Two Potato* (1976) published by the major house of W. W. Norton was circulating widely, following the release of Brian Sutton-Smith's *Folkgames of Children* (1972) by the University of Texas Press and the American Folklore Society. Dorothy Howard, venerated for a lifetime of recording children's folklore, had come out around that time with *Dorothy's World: Childhood in Sabine Bottom* (1977) published by Prentice-Hall.

Inspired by this flurry of activity that raised questions about the creative and artistic potential of children to shape their own traditions, interpret through adaptive folklore concerns about disturbing issues in society, and process the formation of cultural values, a group of scholars met at the American Folklore Society meeting in 1977 in Detroit and in 1978 in Salt Lake City to discuss networking possibilities. With prodding from Thomas Burns, 49 individuals signed a directory, and appointed a steering committee composed of Gary Alan Fine, Sylvia Grider, Elizabeth Tucker, and Jean MacLaughlin. Agreement was reached to create a newsletter reaching members of the group, and C.W. Sullivan III became its driving force. The Section at that point brought people together with the shared trait of working with children's materials. A division became quickly apparent, however, judging from the interests that the individuals wrote down for Burns's directory. The basic split was between those who pursued the ethnographic understanding of children's tradition in everyday life and those who claimed to examine folklore in children's literature. Many, including Sullivan, Kay Stone, Priscilla Ord, and Carole Carpenter, claimed feet in both camps. Yet the emerging consensus of the group within the umbrella of the American Folklore Society appeared to favor attention to studying children in everyday life. The announcement in the

second number of the *Children's Folklore Newsletter* edited by Sullivan read, "Some general goals, however, are clear: to bring about the sharing of research interests, to establish lines of communication among people interested in children's folklore, to publish notes and queries concerning children's folklore, and to publish announcements of interest to members." To make the point, the early editions of the newsletter offered glossaries of children's slang collected from everyday life.

The genres that most captivated the group, according to the first survey, were first, "narrative, language, and speech play," and second, "games and play." The Section avoided defining the boundaries of childhood and invited scholars working in the shadowy age of adolescence. If there was a distinguishing characteristic of this group, it was in the attraction to psychological approaches, particularly since childhood suggested attention to cognitive and social development. Under preferred "approaches," members wrote down psychological references such as "affective and cognitive development," "developing expressive competence," and "psychoanalytical analysis." The group witnessed an intellectual fervor for the special problems of childhood within folklorists' general inquiry into the nature of tradition in 1979. Five panels on children's folklore were scheduled. Four were on the ethnographic study of children's folklore and one on folklore in children's literature. Other signs pointed to the renaissance of children's folklore study. The Smithsonian Institution sponsored a "Children's Area," coordinated by Kate Rinzler at the Festival of American Folklife, and the International Society of Folk Narrative featured nine papers and a special session on children's folklore. John McDowell's *Children's Riddling* (1979) was pushed by Indiana University Press, and the University of Pennsylvania Press prepared Brian Sutton-Smith's *Folkstories of Children*.

With the beginning of the 1980s, the Section became a more structured organization. As the membership ballooned over the hundred mark, Thomas Johnson prepared a draft of a constitution which called for the election of officers-president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer, archivist, and editor. The group also formulated programs to achieve its general goals. To encourage students in the field, it created an award, later named the Newell Prize, to honor an outstanding student paper on children's folklore. It advanced the idea of a book representing

at once a guide to the field and a representation of its best, revisionist work. It sought to expand its network from the American society to international organizations and scholars. It wanted to create a publishing outlet that brought together the various disciplines concerned with children's folklore and allowed for interdisciplinary communication. With an all-too-rare dedication to the task and scholarly cooperation, the group achieved these goals. The book project resulted in *Children's Folklore: A Sourcebook* (1995) edited by Brian Sutton-Smith, Jay Mechling, Thomas W. Johnson, and Felicia McMahon and published by Garland. The need for expanding the scholarly products of the section from news to papers inspired the handsome, not to mention respectable, periodical *Children's Folklore Review*, edited by the seasoned Sullivan. A number of exchanges of the Section's publications with international groups created a lively communication, especially between similar working children's folklore study groups in Australia and England. As the activities of the Section created a backlog of records, an archives for the section was established at the Pennsylvania State University at Harrisburg under the direction of Simon Bronner, and it later joined other American Folklore Society records at Utah State University.

As children's folklore study reached back to the founding of the American Folklore Society, the celebration of the organization's centennial in 1988 featured new initiatives by the Children's Folklore Section. The Section put forward Sullivan for his organizational work among the Society's honorees receiving AFS Centennial Awards. It also created a lifetime achievement award specifically for children's folklore, and designed an impressive medal to bestow upon pathbreakers in the field. With internationalization in mind, it gave its first award to Iona and Peter Opie of England, and followed with awards to Brian Sutton-Smith and Edith Fowke. To draw attention to a continuing scholarly legacy, the Section established a prize for the best scholarly book in children's folklore and named it after the Opies. The first award-winners were *Captain Cook Chased A Chook: Children's Folklore in Australia* by June Factor (1988), *American Children's Folklore* (1989) by Simon Bronner, and *City Play* (1991) by Amanda Dargan and Steven Zeitlin.

Leaders of the organization such as Jay Mechling, Gary Alan Fine, Judith Haut, and Simon Bronner stressed the contribution

of ethnographic children's folklore scholarship to emerging theoretical perspectives in American folklore studies generally using psychology, performance, and social structural orientations. Indeed, the Section attracted new members at that time not necessarily focused on children, but inquiring about issues of aging and tradition and developmental and psychological approaches to folklore. Arguably, the Section was distinctive not only for being the largest among the AFS sections, but also for featuring developmental perspectives.

With a nod toward the literary interests of the Section, another book award was created for children's books using folklore. The idea as it was presented by Gary Alan Fine, Margaret Read MacDonald, and Linda Morley was that this prize could acknowledge and encourage authors and their publishers who recognize the sources and values of folk tradition. At the 1991 annual meeting, the Section approved its designation as the Aesop Prize. It differed from other awards for children's literature in its honoring books where the presence of folklore enriches the book and enhances the reader's understanding of folklore. In addition, it called for "honestly" representing the cultural world view of the people whose folklore is the focus of the book. Much of the effort of the Section in the years following this decision revolved around the Aesop Prize. Special sessions were created to honor authors, stickers with a special design for the award to place on books were fashioned, and the meetings mainly took up literary reviews of the books. Advocates of children's literature such as Priscilla Ord, Margaret Read MacDonald, Elizabeth Tucker, and Linda Morley held the top post of the Section. A need for reconciliation was apparent at the 1995 annual meeting when several protests came to the floor that the original grounding of the Section in the ethnographic study of children had been eroded. The Solomon-like editorial hand of Sullivan in the *Children's Folklore Review* offered balance by featuring essays on folklore in literature and in culture. He suggested in the Spring 1994 issue that both share an attention to "narrative" and equally belong under the heading of the Section's work. In addition, the journal also tried to satisfy new ethnographic initiatives by giving more room to material and social dimensions of children with essays on toys, crafts, games, and rituals.

The timing of the Section's twentieth anniversary with the end of the century doubles the moment of reflection on the

future organization of children's folklore studies within the American Folklore Society. After a flurry of organized activity around the Society's centennial, the Section appears to be regrouping and re-examining its agenda. Many of the issues presented to culture studies generally—the role of Internet and media communication, political legislation of traditions, organizational structures for cultural transmission from day care to little leagues, institutionalization of race and gender, to name a few—deeply affect the directions of children's folklore study. Meanwhile, there are unfinished projects particular to the developmental character of interpreting childhood and its many social varieties. There is the further social and material contextualization of children's worlds in the environments, the rituals, the props of coming of age. After building a twentieth-century national book and periodical shelf for guiding children's study and literature, the Section may indeed seek global connections through electronic communications such as the Web and CD-ROM. From encouraging, honoring, and networking students and scholars, it may find organizational routes to the public, to teachers, librarians, and writers. Or it may relocate its core, recount and re-evaluate twenty years of intellectual fervor for the study of children's folklore and folklife, toward goals for society of the twenty-first century. It may ask again, act again, for the courses, interests, and programs where the very basis of society's traditions and values in aging are explored.

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CFN to CFR: THE EDITOR'S PERSPECTIVE

C.W. Sullivan III

In 1977, a group of interested scholars got together for an informal session at the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society in Detroit and agreed that there should be established a regular forum for the discussion of children's folklore. Over the next few months, Tom Burns, University of Pennsylvania, gathered information and brought the *Children's Folklore Newsletter*, volume I, number I, to the 1978 AFS meeting in Salt Lake City where he convened the first official meeting of the Children's Folklore Section. That first newsletter contained the names, addresses, and interests of the CFS members as well as a bibliography of the members' critical works in children's folklore, a list of children's folklore courses, and list of folklore archives in the US and Canada

At that meeting, the Steering Committee asked if anyone could take over the newsletter; I volunteered to do so if East Carolina University would provide some financial support. When I returned to campus, I approached my Department Chairman, and he took me to see the Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs who, without hesitation, authorized \$500.00 immediately and instructed the chair to write that amount into his operating budget for the next year. The rest, as they say, is history.

Once a publication schedule was finalized, from volume I, number 2, through volume X, number 3, the *Children's Folklore Newsletter* appeared three times a year and averaged from four to eight pages an issue. The newsletter regularly included minutes of section meetings, notes and announcements, book reviews, reports on fieldwork, excerpts from works in progress, the Newell Prize winning paper, and occasional short articles or other features. The largest single feature was Gary Alan Fine's "Pre-Adolescent Male Slang," which ran from volume II, number I, through volume IV, number 3.

Gary's series occasioned the only editorial conflict I have experienced thus far. A local elementary school librarian wrote asking to subscribe to the newsletter and sent a check. I sent the check back with a sample issue for her to review; I had correctly surmised that she thought the publication was for children. She did not contact me again. She did, however, show the newsletter to her Principal who showed it to his Superintendent who then

wrote to the Chancellor of East Carolina University complaining about the obscene materials being sent to children under the auspices of ECU, his and his wife's alma mater. The Chancellor contacted my Department Chair who, after discussing the situation with me, wrote a strongly-worded letter to the Superintendent explaining what a scholarly newsletter was and why it was proper for East Carolina University to sponsor the *Children's Folklore Newsletter*. Happily, the matter ended there.

With volume XI came changes. Although the newsletter format was retained for two more years, the publication's title became the *Children's Folklore Review*, and it was announced that *CFR* was seeking full-length articles in anticipation of a format change to both journal size and length. In addition, the Executive Board decided that *CFR* would now be published twice yearly. Volumes XI and XII were the transitional volumes.

Children's Folklore Review, Volume XIII, number I, was a full-fledged journal. I had acquired an ISSN number for the newsletter as soon as I took over as editor, and the next step was to have the articles in *CFR* be refereed and be listed in the MLA's annual bibliography—and they now are. When it came time to make the move to journal format, production expenses had to be cut. Desktop publishing provided the answer, and with Laurie Evans's help, which continues in this volume, we changed from a type-set newsletter of six to eight pages to a camera-ready journal averaging up to fifty pages per issue without increasing our expenses in any significant way.

Since that time, the format of *CFR* has remained fairly constant. The CFS meeting minutes and the Newell Prize paper are published in each spring number, and each number contains a notes and announcements section. Articles come from children's folklore scholars, and occasionally children's literature scholars, in the US, Canada, Europe, and Australia. If we have lacked anything, it is a regular book review section; but we are working on that. There have been some changes—most notably on the cover. Volumes XIII through XV had individual covers, but with volume XVI, I switched to a photograph of William Wells Newell from the Harvard University Archives, and that picture has graced the *CFR* cover since.

At this point, something should be said about where we go from here. The Children's Folklore Section needs to increase its membership and participation at AFS meetings, and the *Children's*

Folklore Review needs to broaden its subscription list. It is especially important that libraries be made aware of this publication and of the very low cost of subscribing. Because of AFS policies toward non-members of AFS who are members of one of its sections (see the meeting minutes for more details), I expect library subscription rates to increase with volume XXI; but I do not expect that increase to be prohibitive. In the next few months, I hope to be able to work on increasing the number of subscribers to the only academic journal whose sole purpose is the study of the traditional oral, customary, and material cultures of children.

There are a number of people who deserve special mention for the success of *CFR*. Certainly the various Chairs of the English Department at East Carolina University—Erwin Hester, Bill Bloodworth, Keats Sparrow, Bertie Fearing, Don Palumbo, and Bruce Southard—deserve credit for their continuing support, both moral and financial, of *CFR*. Graduate Assistants Robert Owens, John A. Myers, Jr., and Kathryn S. Fladenmuller have worked extremely hard at the various nuts-and-bolts jobs in getting a journal out twice a year. Laurie Evans became Assistant Editor of *CFR* when she was Graduate Secretary in the English Department and I was Director of Graduate Studies in English; it was an official part of her job then to help me with *CFR*. She has since left the university to do editorial work from her own home and continues to help me with *CFR* for a meager honorarium. She has been and still is largely responsible for preparing the camera-ready copy and has been invaluable in various aspects of designing this publication. And finally, working with Jack Morgan, Jr., and the staff at Morgan Printers has been both pleasant and productive.

The cooperation and efforts of all of these people have made editing the *Children's Folklore Review* an activity that I continue to enjoy.

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- Hurlston, Nicola. "Who's the Boss? A Study of Power-Defining Folklore Among Children." 13.1 (1990): 10-16. *An analysis of power struggles among young children observed at play in a college daycare program.*
- Johnson, Sharon Peregrine. "'The Hare and the Tortoise Race' Eleven Variations." 18.2 (1996): 3-24. *Compares eleven different printed versions of the traditional story, discusses its origins and structure, and provides a great deal of comparative analysis.*
- Lapp, Dean M. "A Systematic Investigation of Jump Rope Rhymes: Computer Applications for Field Collected Cultural Material1." 11.1 (1988): 3-5, 6. *Relates children's psychological development with the folklore in which they participate in*

jump rope rhymes.

- Lenz, Millicent. "Mythologizing Chief Seattle: Susan Jeffers' *Brother Eagle, Sister Sky* or How to Make a Myth in Ten Easy Steps." 19.1 (1996): 3-11. *An inquiry into the responsibility of writers to accurately transmit myths without enhancing them.*
- Lonnqvist, Bo. "The Concept 'Toy' and Cultural Research." 14.1 (1991): 31-38. *A study of how adults' conception of children's reality is reflected in mass-produced toys, and how actual child culture has been relatively ignored.*
- McGonnagill, Laurie. "Preschool Protolore." 16.1 (1993): 41-47. *The immature social and cognitive skills of young children explain their brand of prototypical folklore which imitates more developed formulas of folklore.*
- Meley, Patricia M. "Adolescent Legend Trips as Teenage Cultural Response: A Study of Lore in Context." 14.1 (1991): 524. *Results from a group study of the "legend trips" of adolescents examined in light of recent scholarship on the subject.*
- _____. "Paper Power: A Search for Meaning in the Folded Paper Toys of Pre-Adolescents." 11.2 (1989): 3-5. *The making and sharing of paper toys among children illustrates a need for them to create identities apart from adult culture.*
- Ord, Priscilla. "'Curiouser and Curiouser!': Narration and Mimicry in Literature About and For Children." 15.1 (1992): 5-16. *A consideration of the ability of children to narrate, mimic and reenact, illustrated in characterizations of children and in children's stories.*
- Perry, Evelyn M. "The Ever-Vigilant Hero: Revaluing the Tale of Tam Lin." 19.2 (1997): 31-49. *A description of "current devaluations of folk literature" through close reading of the original text and evaluation of variations on that text for different audiences.*
- Riley, Linda. "Extremes: How Girls Play Slaughter, How Boys Play Slaughter at Valley Oak Elementary." 13.1 (1990): 1016. *Variations on the game's rules indicate shared group meaning for each gender-distinct team.*
- Rush, Judith L. "Twin Pranks and Practical Jokes." 10.3 (1987): 3-6. *Suggests that twins' pranks afford them the opportunity to establish individuality and to distinguish their personalities.*
- Samuelson, Sue. "A Review of the Distinctive Genres of Adolescent Folklore." 17.2 (1995): 13-31. *Adolescents create their own distinct folklore to define for themselves the transition from child*

- hood to adulthood. Edited and introduced by Simon J. Bronner.
- Stone, Kay. "Child as Story-Maker." 16.2 (1994): 3-11. *An observation of a child creating stories, and a consideration of the relationship between researcher and subject.*
- Sullivan, C.W. III "Baloney and Peanuts: Politics Among Grade Schoolers." 1.2 (1977): 4. *An examination of a children's rhyme which equates Jimmy Carter with foolishness and insignificance, and how much children grasp the political content of their song.*
- _____. "Folktales, Ballads and High Fantasy: An Excerpt from Research in Progress." 5.1 (1982): 2,4. *Use of myths and fairy tales as sources and structures for works of modern fantasy.*
- _____. "Knowing What Children Believe: Believing What Children Know." 19.1 (1996):19-24. *An examination of the separation between child and adult culture and how this is significant to folklore studies.*
- _____. "Learning the Structure of Traditional Narrative." 15.1 (1992): 17-23. *Asserts that in experiencing folklore, we learn the structure of traditional narrative that we carry to all other aspects of life.*
- Sutton-Smith, Brian. "Tradition from the Perspective of Children's Games." 14.2 (1992): 3-16. *A colonial commentary on the history of games.*
- Tillery, Randal K. "Folklore and Children's Worlds: Nature, Place, and Belonging in a Romantic Key." 17.2 (1995): 3-11. *Examines the traditional perceptions of frontier experience which make up much of the "lore" of summer camp organizations.*
- Tucker, Elizabeth. "'Text, Lies and Videotape': Can Oral Tales Survive?" *Argues that children's creativity remains fecund despite the inundation of video-produced stories.*
- Tuleja, Tad. "The Tooth Fairy: Perspectives on Money and Magic." 13.2 (1991): 13-22. *Examines the origin of tooth fairy folklore and the integration of the this into modern culture and traditions.*
- Watson, Laura. "The Nature Lore of Children: Functions and Variations." 16.1 (1993): 49-60. *An examination of various instances of children's lore involving nature, and how these function for children's greater grasp and acceptance of the world surrounding them.*
- Wein, Elizabeth. "Show Biz: Performance and Text in the Children's Show." 13.2 (1991): 23-28. *Implications of how children's "shows" evolve from improvisation to written, rehearsed performances.*

Newell Prize Winners

- 1983 "A Systematic Investigation of Jump Rope Rhymes: Computer Applications for Field Collected Cultural Material" by Dean Lapp of Penn State.
- 1984 "Giving and Giving it Up: The Social and Emotional Economics of Male Adolescents at Boys' Home" by Robert Horan of University of Pennsylvania.
- 1985 "The False Knight Upon a Road: A New Appraisal" by John Minton of University of Texas, Austin.
- 1986 "So Sing and We'll Carry it On" by Laura K. Simmons of University of California at Davis.
- 1987 "Twin Pranks and Practical Jokes" by Judith L. Rush of Penn State.
- 1988 "Paper Power: A Search for Meaning in the Folded Paper Toys of Pre-Adolescents" by Patricia M. Meley of Penn State.
- 1989 "Who's the Boss? A Study of Power-Defining Folklore Among Children" by Nicola Hurlston of University of California, Davis. (tie)
- 1989 "Extremes: How Girls Play Slaughter, How Boys Play Slaughter at Valley Oak Elementary" by Linda Riley of University of California, Davis. (tie)
- 1991 "Adolescent Legend Trips as Teenage Cultural Response: A Study of Lore in Context" by Patricia Meley of Penn State.
- 1992 "Blocks and Matchboxes: Negotiations of a Shared Reality" by Michelle Branningan of Indiana University.
- 1994 "'Once Upon a Time' to 'Happily Ever After': The Development of Children's Narrative Skill" by Tara Friel of Trinity College.
- 1995 "'The Hare and the Tortoise' Eleven Variations" by Sharon Peregrine Johnson.
- 1996 "'Here We Sit Like Birds in the Wilderness Waiting for our Dessert': The Girl Scout Program and Ordering Space in Camp Sacajawea's Dining Hall/Main House" by Susan Charles T. Groth of University of Pennsylvania.

Book Reviews

- "*All in Together, Girls: Skipping Songs from Regina, Saskatchewan* by Robert Cosbey." 13.2 (1991): 33-34.
- "*All Our Noses Are Here* by Alvin Schwartz." 8.1 (1986): 6.
- "*Busy Buzzing Bumblebees and Other Tongue Twisters* by Alvin Schwartz." 5.2 (1983):4.
- "*Captain Cook Chased a Chook: Children's Folklore in Australia* by June Factor." 11.2 (1989): 2,6.
- "*Children's Humor* by Sandra McCosh." 4.2 (1982): 4.
- "*Children's Literature of the Renaissance* by Warren Wooden." 13.1 (1991): 25-26.
- "*Children's Literature: Volume 10* ed. by Francelia Butler." 5.1 (1983): 4.
- "*The Classic Fairy Tales* by Iona and Peter Opie." 4.3 (1983): 5.
- "*Counting-Out Rhymes: A Dictionary* by Roger D. Abrahams and Lois Rankin." 3.3 (1982): 4.
- "*Growing Up on the Playground* by Andy Slukin." 4.3 (1983): 5-6.
- "*More Scary Stories to Tell in the Dark* by Alvin Schwartz." 8.1 (1986): 6.
- "*Oxford Children's Encyclopedia* edited by Mary Worrall." 15.2 (1993): 27-28.
- "*Reynard the Fox* by Rachel Anderson and David Bradby; *The Curse of the Ring* and *The Doom of the Gods* by Michael Harrison; and *The Island of the Mighty* by Hayden Middleton." 12.1 (1990): 6.
- "*The Skit Book: 101 Skits from Kids* by Margaret MacDonald." 14.2 (1992): 21-22.
- "*Someone Saw a Spider: Spider Facts and Folktales* by Shirley Climo." 8.3 (1987): 4.
- "*Storyteller's Sourcebook: A Subject, Title, and Motif Index to Folklore Collections for Children* by Margaret MacDonald." 5.3 (1984): 4.
- "*There is a Carrot in My Ear* by Alvin Schwartz." 5.2 (1983): 4.
- "*The Truth About Santa Claus* by James Cross Giblin." 8.3 (1987): 4.
- "*Unriddling: All Sorts of Riddles to Puzzle Your Guessery* by Alvin Schwartz." 8.1 (1986): 6.
- "*World Folktales* by Atelia Clarkeson and Gilbert Cross." 2.2 (1979): 4.

MINUTES

1978	1.2 (1979): 1.
1979	2.2 (1980): 1-2.
1980	3.2 (1981): 2.
1981	4.3 (1982): 2.
1982	5.3 (1983): 2-3.
1983	6.3 (1984): 2-3.
1984	7.3 (1985): 2-4
1985	8.3 (1986): 2.
1986	9.3 (1987): 2.
1987	10.3 (1988): 2, 8.
1988	11.2 (1989): 2-3.
1989	12.2 (1990): 3.
1990	13.2 (1991): 29-32.
1991	14.2 (1992): 17-20.
1992	15.2 (1993): 21-25.
1993	16.2 (1994): 20-23.
1994	17.2 (1995): 35-38.
1995	18.2 (1996): 36-38.
1996	19.2 (1997): 51-54.

CFS: 1997 ANNUAL MEETING

Ruth Stotter called the meeting to order at 7:20 PM on 31 October 1997.

Reports

Libby Tucker's President's Report was read by Judith Haut.

Libby thanked Linda Morley for initiating the first award ceremony for Aesop Prize and Aesop Accolade winners, thanked Sean Galvin, Ruth Stotter, and Priscilla Ord for making the arrangements for the award ceremony, and thanked Judy Sierra and the other winners for their readings.

Libby then noted that Danielle Roemer, outgoing Secretary / Treasurer of CFS, and Ruth Stotter, outgoing Aesop Committee Chair, deserve special thanks for their work.

In her review of her terms as CFS President, Libby voiced some concerns over the cost of the Aesop stickers and the fact that they were not selling very well; she also said that she would continue to store the remaining boxes of stickers and would fill any orders forwarded to her. She noted that proper award certificates are now being presented to Aesop winners.

She recommended that more children's folklore panels be proposed for future AFS meetings and that CFS establish working relationships with other AFS sections.

She also mentioned that we should find some specific use for the royalties for *Children's Folklore: A Source Book* and should think about donating the Aesop submissions to a hospital, library, or school.

Finally, Libby thanked Chip Sullivan for his continuing work as editor of *Children's Folklore Review*.

Danielle Roemer did not attend AFS this year, and there was no official Treasurer's report.

Editor C.W. Sullivan III reported that *Children's Folklore Review* continues to receive at least \$2000.00 in annual support from East Carolina University, and as 1997-1998 is the twentieth anniversary of the Children's Folklore Section, CFR will publish a special anniversary volume 20.

Announcements

The Newell Prize was awarded to Erica Ruppert for her paper, "Folklore and Persistence in Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*" which uses the theories of Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett to examine speech play in Carroll's work. Ms. Ruppert is a student of Libby Tucker's at Binghamton University.

The Opie Prize was awarded to *Brown Girl in the Ring: An Anthology of Song Games from the Eastern Caribbean*, collected and documented by Alan Lomax, J.D. Elder, and Bess Lomax Hawes, New York: Pantheon, 1997. According to the Opie Prize Committee, "the anthology shows how elements in the games touch on and celebrate social skills that are so central to Caribbean culture as to be invisible in most forms of expression."

The Aesop Prize was awarded to *Earth Tales from Around the World*, by Michael Caduto, illustrated by Adelaide Murphy Tyrol, Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 1997; and *The Hired Hand: An African-American Folktale*, retold by Robert D. San Souci, illustrated by Jerry Pinkney, New York: Dial, 1997.

The Aesop Accolades went to *Bouki Dances the Kokioko: A Comical Tale from Haiti*, by Diane Wolkstein, illustrated by Jesse Sweetwater, San Diego: Harcourt, 1997; *The Cricket's Cage: A Chinese Folktale*, retold and illustrated by Stefan Czernecki, New York: Hyperion, 1997; *Esther's Story*, by Diane Wolkstein, illustrated by Juan Wijngaard, New York: Morrow, 1996; *Full Moon Stories: Thirteen Native American Legends*, written and illustrated by Eagle Walking Turtle, New York: Hyperion, 1997; *Musician of the Sun*, retold and illustrated by Gerald McDermott, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997; and *The Sea King's Daughter: A Russian Legend*, retold by Aaron Shepard, illustrated by Gennady Spirin, New York: Atheneum, 1997.

Ruth Stotter thanked the members of the awards committees for their work.

Linda Morley, incoming CFS President, took over the meeting and expressed her appreciation to Libby Tucker on behalf of the section and herself.

Linda moved that the Opie and Aesop Prize books be given as a special award to Danielle Roemer for her years of service.

1997 Annual Meeting

The motion was seconded and passed.

Linda asked for a consensus from the membership to empower the Executive Board to change the officers' terms from one to two years. The membership agreed.

Nominations for President Elect, Bill Ellis, and Secretary / Treasurer, Joe Edgette, were made and seconded. Bill and Joe were elected unanimously.

New Business

The American Folklore Society will charge an extra \$7.50 to do the paperwork for section members who are not also AFS members but will, for the time being, accept the interest accrued in a section account in lieu of individual payments. The CFS Executive Board will study this matter.

Dates for AFS abstracts for the 1998 meeting have been moved up; the section should be ready with one or more proposals.

AFS has a web site and sections will be able to have data on that web site. There is a possibility that CFS could have a chat room/web site meeting. AFS will also soon have an updated directory.

Judy Sierra and Judith Haut were nominated for the Aesop Committee; Judith Haut declined, and Judy Sierra was appointed.

CFS needs to have a panel for next year. Several possibilities were discussed, among them a panel on games and a panel on "applications of children's folklore."

It was proposed that *Children's Folklore Review* include a section on fieldwork in each issue. The proposal was for a page of text and a photograph of the fieldwork. The editor agreed that such an inclusion would be possible.

The membership voted to return the annual meeting to an early morning hour as the evening hour meeting results in too many conflicts. Get that black coffee ready!

The meeting adjourned at 8:30 PM as members left for the Hallowe'en celebrations down on Sixth Street.

Respectfully submitted,
C.W. Sullivan III
Secretary Under Duress

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society annually offers the W.W. Newell Prize (which includes a cash award) for the best undergraduate or graduate student essay on a topic in children's folklore. Students must submit their own papers, and published papers are eligible. Instructors are asked to encourage students with eligible papers to enter the competition.

Papers must be typed, double-spaced, and on white paper. On the first page include the author's name, academic address, home address, and telephone numbers. Deadline for each year's competition is March 1st.

Submit papers or write for more information:

Dr. Elizabeth Tucker, English Department, Binghamton University,
Binghamton, NY 13902-6000.

H.W. Wilson announces the publication of the second edition of *The Flannel Board Storytelling Book* by (CFS member and Aesop Award winner) Judy Sierra. This edition extends the range of the original book to include material for children under the age of three as well as stories, songs, and poems for older children through the primary grades.

For more information, contact Barbara Ottervik, Manager, Advertising and Promotion, 1-800-367-6770 (ext 2312).

PCM Bulletin: Children's Magazine is published for children between 10 and 15 years of age and contains cartoons, comic strips, essays, short stories, and poetry.

For a sample copy, contact Progressive Curriculum Management, P.O. Box 3510, Ammankovil Road, Kochi - 682 035, India.

The Smithsonian Institution announces Play Makers, a special millennium 2000 program which will feature "200 interesting and exemplary child toymakers from the United States and around the world. . . on the National Mall in Washington, DC. . . at the Smithsonian Institution's 34th annual Festival of American Folklife," 23 June-4 July 2000.

If you know of any child toy makers who should be included or for more information, contact Richard Kurin, Director, Center

Notes and Announcements

for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies, Smithsonian Institution MRC 914, Washington, DC 20560.

The Children's Environments Research and Design Group, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, announces a variety of publications on Children's Environments and Educational Facilities.

For a flyer describing the group and its publications, write The Children's Environments Research and Design Group, Center for Architecture and Urban Planning, School of Architecture and Urban Planning, PO Box 413, University of Wisconsin Milwaukee, Milwaukee, WI 53201-0413. Or see: www.uwm.edu/dept/cerdg

The Children's Limited Editions Club presents *Two Bear Cubs*, retold by Robert D. San Souci and illustrated by Daniel San Souci, in a signed limited edition of 200 copies at \$59.95 each.

For information, contact Children's Limited Editions Club, Joel Harris Books, 1407 "A" Street, Suite D, Antioch, CA 94509.

The Michigan State University Museum announces the publication of *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura: Celebrations of Faith and Culture in Detroit's Colonia-Mexicana*, by Laurie Kay Sommers in collaboration with Casa de Unidad Cultural Arts and Media Center. This bilingual publication focuses on continuity and change in three religious festivals: the Day of the Dead, the Feast Day of the Virgin of Guadalupe, and Las Posadas.

For information, contact Folk Arts Division Publications, Michigan State University Museum, East Lansing, MI 48824.

Syracuse University Press announces the publication of *Children of Deh Koh: Young Life in an Iranian Village*, by Erika Friedl, author of *Women of Deh Koh*. In this study, Friedl "weaves together local practices, cognitive categories, folklore, analyses, and anecdotes concerning aspects of growing up: from conception to childhood, from religion to the correct way of using kinship terms."

For information, contact: Marketing Department, Syracuse University Press, 1600 Jamesville Avenue, Syracuse, NY 132445160.

Shoofly: An Audiomagazine for Children has begun its fourth year

of publication. This quarterly audiomagazine is a cassette tape which regularly features folk music, song, stories, and poems as well as materials which are patterned after traditional folk materials. The latest issue, volume 4, number 1, features Piedmont bluesman Lightnin' Wells performing five numbers, including "I'm My Own Grandpa."

For information and sample copies, contact Jack Nestor or Arlene Furman, Shoofly, PO Box 1237, Carrboro, NC 27510

Call for Papers. *The Lion and the Unicorn* will publish a special issue on children's literature and folklore.

For information, contact Dr. C.W. Sullivan III, Guest Editor, *The Lion and the Unicorn*, English Department, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC 27858-43553. E-mail: sullivanc@mail.ecu.edu

Call for Papers. *Canadian Folklore canadien*, the refereed journal of the Folklore Studies Association of Canada, invites submissions in English or French for a special issue devoted to childlore which includes:

- a. children's own lore, past or present
- b. childhood traditions, being those considered appropriate for, or used specifically with children by adults who are primary bearers, e.g., baby-bouncing rhymes
- c. children's culture remembered, i.e., the folkways of children recalled by adults.

For the format and style guidelines of papers, please consult the inside back cover of *Canadian Folklore canadien* or the Folklore Studies Association of Canada web-site, www.mun.ca/fsac/cfc_e.html

Maximum length for papers is 8,000 words (20 pp.). Material for consideration may be submitted on disk (MS Word-4 or Wordperfect 5.1 or higher) or in triplicate hard copy. Deadline for submissions is August 31, 1998. All queries and submissions should be directed to the guest editor:

Carole Carpenter
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York University, 4700 Keele Street
Toronto, ON M3J 1P3, CANADA tel:
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(416) 736-5460
e-mail: carolec@yorku.ca

CONTRIBUTORS

Simon J. Bronner is distinguished Professor of Folklore and American Studies and director of the American Studies Program at Penn State Harrisburg. He has also taught at Harvard University, Osaka University, and the University of California at Davis. He is the author of many books including *American Children's Folklore* (awarded the Opie Prize) and *Piled Higher and Deeper: The Folklore of College Students*. His latest book is *Following Tradition: Folklore in the Discourse of American Culture* (Utah State UP, 1998). He has served as president of the Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society.

Kathryn Fladenmuller is currently a graduate student at East Carolina University. She is working towards an MA in medieval literature. In addition to her interests in Arthurian Romances and Chaucer, she studies philosophy and religion, and anticipates further exploration of Charles Williams.

Erica Ruppert was a student of Libby Tucker's and completed her undergraduate degree in literature and folklore at Binghamton in Teaching Secondary English, and she continues to be especially interested in children's folklore.

Brian Sutton-Smith is an emeritus Professor of the University of Pennsylvania where he was Professor of Education (Psychology) and of Folklore. He has been studying play for 40 years and doing it across disciplines, having done research and book writing in education, psychology, anthropology, history and folklore. He has authored, co-authored, or edited over 40 books and 300 articles. He has a Life Achievement Award and the Opie Prize for his work in children's folklore. His latest book is entitled *The Ambiguities of Play* (Harvard UP, 1997), and he claims that it is less ambiguous than his other books.

The *Children's Folklore Review* is available only to members of the Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society. To become a member, send \$10.00 yearly dues (\$15.00 for non-US members) to Joseph Edgette, 509 Academy Road, Glenolden, PA 19036. Please make checks payable to "AFS Children's Folklore Section."

CFR requests manuscripts that are prepared using laser printed text or letter quality text. We request that authors using typewriters or dot-matrix printers have their manuscripts redone and a laser printed copy made. This will enable us to scan the copy, thereby eliminating rekeying the manuscript.

Please send manuscripts to:

C. W. Sullivan III, Editor
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NC 27858-4353

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